

THE ARMY

IN ITS

MEDICO-SANITARY RELATIONS.



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“ For they are of that noble trade  
That demi-gods and heroes made,  
Slaughter, and knocking on the head,  
The trade to which they all were bred ;  
It is, like others, glorious when  
’Tis great and large, but base, if mean ;  
The former rides in triumph for it,  
Tho latter on a two-wheeled chariot,  
For daring to profane a thing  
So sacred, with vile bungling.”—BUTLER.

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## P R E F A C E.

THESE three papers, on a subject which is always interesting, and concerning which the interest seems to have lately very much revived, are reprinted from the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, in which they appeared in the form of reviews of the Report of the Army Sanitary Commission, and of the Warrant regulating the pay and status of the Army Medical Department. They were written to supply the demand of the moment, and must be taken as pieces of mere cotemporary criticism.

The subject is so very important that the Author scarcely needs to ask for a little attention to it—imperfectly as it may be treated in the following pages.

We are told that *because* the history of all our wars has been a history of suffering, disease, and death,—*because* much of that suffering has been preventible,—*because* much of it has been owing, not to what is sometimes profanely called the Visitation of God, but clearly and altogether to the folly, incapacity, and ignorance of man,—*therefore* we should divorce the two grand functions of the Medical Art, and add more to the already overburdened number of administrative departments. Surely there is a singular want of connection between the demand made and the reasons assigned. It is even said that the faculty adapted, in the highest degree, for “curing” disease, is absolutely antagonistic to that which is best fitted for “preventing” disease. Has the Profession nothing to say to this, instinctively jealous and distrustful of specialisms as it always is? Has

it nothing to say, when told by a high and prominent authority, in terms as flattering as they are felicitous, that “the sanitary doctor is to the curative doctor very much what the landowner who shoots foxes is to the master of hounds,—*he spoils his sport*”?

It has been proposed, not only to attach Sanitary Counsellors to the departments of the Quarter-Master General and the Medical Director General, but also to appoint a corps of Sanitary Inspectors of barracks throughout the army, and, with that view, to split the Medical Department into two sections, a curative and a sanitary section, in the proportion of four of the former to one of the latter. It will be observed that this proposal demands consideration for general hygiene only, as distinct from personal hygiene, and for the hygiene of barracks and standing camps, as distinct from the hygiene of armies in motion. Now, when we look into the heart of the matter, it appears that general hygiene means neither more nor less than this:—Ventilation, and the removal *of* certain morbid causes which are plain and patent to the senses, or removal *from* these morbid causes. Sir John Pringle says so. Dr Broeklesby says so. Dr Donald Monro says so. No one can say anything else or anything more. Since the time of these eminent Sanitarians, we have made vast improvements in the manner of applying these principles, just as we have improved in most other things, and we have demonstrated the truth of these principles until no more demonstration is needed; but we have not added one jot or tittle to the principles themselves. No sanitary proposition can be stated which does more than give expression to or carry out, in one way or another, these fundamental principles. There are constitutional reasons which require a very complicated machinery for the application of them to the civil population; and, at the best, the result is tedious and imperfect. But the case is totally different in the army. The

Secretary for War can, by a stroke of his pen, direct that sufficient air-space shall be provided in all barraeks, and that all nuisanees shall be removed,—that all the most recent means shall be adopted for giving effect to the primary principles of Sanitation. And he can not only give the order, but he can take care that it is obeyed. Whether is it better, when a thing needs to be done, to *do* it, or to institute a special class for the purpose of *talking* about the doing of it?

It is the business of Governors and Generals to know that marsh miasms cause ague, that certain other conditions cause other sorts of fever, that scurvy follows certain other conditions;—in one word, it is their business to know that there are certain laws of health and life which are plain, simple, and obvious to all who have eyes to see them, obedience to which is certainly followed by success, transgression or sin by the results which we have seen. If, as the event seems to show, our Governors in 1854, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, were ignorant of these simple facts, or, knowing them, neglected them, that may be a very good reason for providing ourselves with better Governors, and a chief of the Commissariat who cares more about “common things,” and busies himself less about revolutionizing a glorious army. It can be no reason for our hampering the system of execution by the addition of new and exceptional officers.

The essential elements of a true and effective system of administration are—Simplicity, Concentration, Consolidation, the smallest number of officers, direct Responsibility. Above all, it must be regulated by the principles, simple, well understood, easily applied, of Military Subordination. It results that, when treating of any integral part, we must bear these principles always in view, and apply them as closely as possible.

Our present administrative tendencies are to—Complica-

tion, a multiplication of officers and departments, diffused and diminished responsibility.

Five years ago, it needed but little gift of insight, and a very superficial acquaintance with affairs, to be able to predict what would happen if war came on us, although one may not then have expected to see his vaticinations fulfilled so soon and on so grand a scale.

Now, when all Europe is arming, when war may seem not very distant, one need not set up for a prophet to be able to say what will be the result if it should overtake us with Commissions, and Councils, and Boards multiplied indefinitely,—every sectional duty assigned to a special department—every clerk in Pall Mall and Whitehall converting himself into an irresponsible Cabinet Minister—anarchy everywhere, responsibility nowhere. It will be something more sharp and decisive than anything we have yet known. It will be so plain, that there will be no need for successive Commissions to report on each other about it. It will be something to make us pray for deliverance from *doctrinaires* and system-mongers, and for the coming of the ONE MAN. It will be utter Ruin and Catastrophe.—*Absit Omen.*

EDINBURGH, *March* 1859.

C.

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\* \* \* An apology should, perhaps, be made for having reprinted from the *Saturday Review* the article on the Health of the Army in India, at page 49; but every word in it is so admirable that it cannot be too often repeated.

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*Upon the severest review of what has been said, I can honestly persuade myself, that on this subject I have employed my time and faculties rationally and disinterestedly, and therefore I willingly abide by the decision of the judicious Officer, whosoever has at any time considered his profession systematically, and not as matter of mere hazard and blind chance. I hope such may approve my arguments not inconsistent with their own sense.* \* \* \* \*

*If I am so happy as to obtain such approbation on this occasion, I shall regard it as the greatest and most acceptable recompence to my mind, which truly feels itself far above sacrificing its philosophic satisfaction in honest liberty, both of speech and writing, to the most alluring prospects of favour, that might possibly be expected, by concealing these opinions which may not be pleasing to some people, stiff in the attachment to their own old methods, nor to others, interested to prevent every essay toward reformation.—Dr Brocklesby's Œconomical and Medical Observations.*

*Withal, I make bold sometimes to please my own fancy, in not always following advice or obeying the corrections made. And I hope I shall obtain thy pardon, Reader, if among many things that are here delivered, thou findest some not altogether to thy palate. Let what thou dost find acceptable to thee in this Treatise, excuse the impertinence of the rest.—The Epistle to the Reader by Richard Wiseman, Serjeant-Chirurgion to King Charles the II.*

*If an offence come out of the Truth, better is it that the offence come than that the Truth be concealed.—S. Jerome.*

# THE SANITARY COMMISSION.<sup>1</sup>

## PART FIRST.

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(*From the Edinburgh Medical Journal, May 1858.*)

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So quickly now-a-days are the scenes shifted and the actors changed on the busy stage of life, and so rapidly do new objects of engrossing interest supplant their predecessors in the public mind, that we perhaps owe some apology for going back to the subject of the Eastern war; but some such brief reference is needed to introduce the contents of these two blue-books. When the frightful degree of sickness and mortality in the Eastern army was the overwhelming subject of public interest, attention was naturally directed to the system and condition of the public body which is charged with the medical care of the army; and, at the same time, there was much criticism, not only of the general administration of the army as a mass, but also of the particular circumstances which, under that administration, and having reference to his sanitary condition, surround the soldier at home and abroad. The late Mr Augustus Stafford was one of the first to exhibit, as a result of close personal observation, the many defects of the system; and he was also foremost in exonerating the medical department, in so far as that department is a mere aggregation of individuals, from any blame in the matter under discussion. He procured the appointment of a

<sup>1</sup> 1. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Regulation affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Army, the Organization of Military Hospitals, and the Treatment of the Sick and Wounded; with Evidence and Appendix. 1858.

2. Report from the Select Committee on Medical Department (Army). 1856.

3. England and France before Sebastopol. By CHARLES BRYCE, M.D. 1857.

4. Recherches sur les Maladies de l'Armée d'Orient pendant l'hiver de 1854-1855. Par M. le Docteur THOLAZAN. 1856

Committee of the House of Commons, which collected much evidence on the constitution of the department, both as to the position of the individuals composing it, and as to the degree and direction of their influence, as constituting a part of the general system of administration. The recommendations of the Committee, the executive Government did not think proper to give effect to; but, fortunately, appointed a Royal Commission, charged with the duty of reporting not only on the medical department, but also on a much more important and extensive subject, and one which has little more than an apparent connection with the first—the general sanitary condition of the soldier, the effect and influence of his environments on his health, efficiency, and expectation of life. The result of their inquiries is a mass, huge, and, we had almost said, quite indigestible; but the glib ready writers of the daily and weekly press have presented us with fluently written abstracts of the most noteworthy points—these abstracts being, however, unluckily coloured with the sectional views on the much-vexed question of administration advocated by each individual writer, and betraying, too, an ignorance of the intimate relations of the different points which could only be removed by personal contact and prolonged observation. The diligent student of the Report and Evidence will find that to reach important and positive facts, and to secure for himself matter for practical thought, he must search through a quarry containing much formless and pretentious rubbish; but we venture to promise that he will certainly find these jewels of much value, and there can be no doubt that the whole book is calculated to supply, for many years to come, a handbook of reference on all the points embraced by it.

Large as the book is—a circumstance inseparable from the form of the inquiry—one is every now and then struck with regret, that many points have not been more fully entered into. Of these subjects, any one, at first sight the most trivial, may be of considerable importance. For instance, and to take a very petty subject, there was a good deal of loose talk about shirts—about the comparative merits, as part of a soldier's kit, of flannel and cotton shirts. The non-commissioned officers who were examined, objected to the use of flannel as being expensive, difficult to wash, and liable to contract much dirt—good soldiers' reasons. Some military and medical witnesses strongly advocated the use of it, but, unfortunately, without stating reasons for the preference; and so the matter was left.

But in this very minute point are involved, not only most important sanitary considerations, but also the question of expense as well as of transport, which latter is perhaps the most important of all, in connection with an army in the field. Again, there is no more important article of dress than the feet covering. Marshal Saxe said that "legs win battles;" and Count Alfred de Vigny tells us that the fortune of a campaign may be settled by the way of lacing soldiers' boots. Although this subject was once or twice touched on, there is no conclusion, and nothing to form a conclusion from. All this by the way, however. Our space will only permit us to glance, in the briefest and most cursory manner, at a few of the more salient of the points discussed by the Commission.

If the object and essence of all strategy is to bring the greatest power to bear on the weakest point—to have the *gros bataillons* massed at the right time and at the right place—it may be said that the sole purpose of all the immense machinery of army administration is simply, that for every firelock and for every sabre, there shall be a capable, athletic, usefully equipped man-at-arms to wield them. For this end, and for this end only, do Departments exist; and the sole test of their efficiency must be the extent of means which they place in the hands of the military commander. The Eastern campaign, which was fruitful in so many experiences, exhibited two very different ways of treating soldiers. The transition from one to the other was almost immediate; and the experiment had this further advantage, that both plans were broadly marked, and diametrically opposed, one to the other. These two were—starvation and pampering. We had first, utter hunger and nakedness; and when the inevitable sickness came—sickness even unto death—so universal was it, that there was little but salt pork and hard biscuit to offer to poor scorbutic wretches, who lay down and died in cold and mud. Then, quite suddenly, we had a profuse expenditure, the very waste and excess of which might have fed and furnished an army. The healthy were fed with a lavish extravagance, and no luxury was considered too great for the sick. Fortunately, the experiment was not carried further. We were not afforded the means of observing the influence of the pestiferous districts of Asia Minor, to which all eyes had been bent as the scene of the coming campaign, on the "soft, inflated state of the system, simulating robust health," which Dr Lyons<sup>1</sup> observed so generally in the

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Pathology of the Diseases of the Army of the East. 1856.

spring of 1856. It would not be easy to say which of these two plans was the most expensive; both were certainly terribly expensive and very short-sighted. The object should be to discover the happy mean. It will be admitted that the training of the soldier should be somewhat Spartan—not according to the standard of Lycurgus, but according to the standard in use and vogue at the period when the estimate is made. The greatest degree of individual effectiveness, with the smallest amount of cost required to produce it, is what the civil departments have to set themselves to establish; all the rest is for the General. With the discussions which this Report has originated, the Horse Guards has really very little to do. They lie not so much between Captain Sword and Captain Pen, as between one Captain Pen at Printing House Square, and another Captain Pen at Pall Mall. “Battles,” said Marshal Turenne, “are fought by generals, campaigns are won or lost by the commissariat.” How much it should pay for efficiency, and how the money is applied, is what the country has to consider. The matter seems to be a very simple one. Fresh air, and plenty of it—good and well-assorted food, and not too much of that—well-devised and appropriate clothing,—we really do not know that anything more is wanted. The Commissioners tell us very fully how far these requirements have been supplied.

We need not here repeat the tables of mortality which have, within the last two months, been read by all. Suffice it to say, that the soldier’s expectation of life is shown to be as bad as that of the inhabitants of the most unhealthy town districts; and with regard to occupations, the soldier’s is only to be compared with the most unhealthy. If it is remembered how many men are discharged from the service, on account of disease, it may be broadly stated that, as far as reliance can be placed on the Commissioners’ statistics, the soldier’s is the most unhealthy occupation followed in England.<sup>1</sup> It had been long known, or rather felt, by all who had

<sup>1</sup> We must repeat the usual caution against a too ready reliance on figures, when “disturbing causes” are not specified. For instance, it is stated that “the mortality of the army, when huddled before Sebastopol in 1856, as compared with that of the troops at home, was nearly one-third less than that of the infantry of the line, and two-fifths less than that of the Guards when barracked in England.” This is, of course, ascribed to sanitary measures. It is not, however, stated that at that time there was a regular service of sick transports organised, and that every case of chronic disease was sent home, all efforts being made, in view of the expected campaign, that none but effective men should be present; while the most cursory glance at the other tables shows that the great mortality at home is from chronic diseases. The small

much intercourse with them, that their rate of mortality was exceptionally high, but the facts adduced by the Commissioners, and enforced by every sort of manipulation of figures and diagrams, must have struck even those who thought themselves best informed, with amazement.

We cannot help thinking that there is a certain fallacy in the assertion that the "soldier's is a picked life." That recruits are selected with a certain degree of care is very true, but that they are select lives in the sense in which an actuary would use the term, we very much doubt. They are the best men of their class, perhaps, but that is the very class of the population which most of all sins against sanitary laws, and it is one in which these sins of the parents are visited on the children through every degree. The recruits are more or less tainted with the strumous habit, and are therefore just in a condition to be speedily affected by the deleterious causes which we proceed to consider.

In discussing these causes, it appears to us that the Commissioners have passed far too lightly over the night duty. They seem to have been induced to do so by some statistics of the London night police presented to them; but the night duty of the police is very different, in all respects, from that of a soldier on guard, and even its severity may be judged from the fact that the average total service in the force is only five years, and that this low average is ascribed "to the frequency of invaliding or resignation on account of ill health." The Commissioners, as we shall have to point out again, have shown too great a disposition to establish an arbitrary analogy between military matters and some supposed identical condition in civil life, and from this analogy to put forward conclusions, which, as in the present case, we venture to think fallacious. That no comparison should be instituted between a soldier on guard and a night policeman, is well shown by the proposal made by some of our "week-day preachers" to carry it out in practice, and, in fact, make the sentry no sentry at all. These gentlemen forget that every duty assigned to a soldier, wherever he may be, is intended to

ratio of sickness to strength at that period was much commented on. This, we apprehend, was entirely, or almost entirely, owing to the absence of syphilitic diseases. If the cases belonging to the syphilitic category were removed from the home returns, the proportion of sick to strength would be exceedingly small. When the favourable rates in the Crimea, in 1856, are ascribed to sanitary measures, it should be remembered that the allotment of cubic space in the huts was less than that prescribed by barrack regulations.

be a lesson and a preparation for some position that he may have to occupy in actual war; even the ceremonies that so much amuse Cockney story-writers have some original meaning, or point to some purpose of necessary duty. The soldier on advanced sentry before an enemy must take his chance of being wounded or killed, and the sentries at the Tower or Buckingham Palace, who are placed there to learn their duty before an enemy, must run the risk of suffering from the slower operation of insidious disease. They must be relieved frequently, must be on the alert when on their post—not foraging in the kitchens of the neighbourhood, as writers in the *Times* would apparently have them to be—and they cannot remove their uniform and belts in the guard-house, simply because they must be ready to turn out at a moment's notice. Our business is to reduce the noxious influences as much as possible. There can be no reason for the guard occupying a close and ill-ventilated guard-house,—and guard-houses are, as a rule, much more tainted than even barrack-rooms. It seems probable that most of the bad effects of night duty on health should be referred, partly to the clothing, but chiefly to the fourth and last class of causes enumerated in the Report.

As to “want of exercise and suitable employment,” as a cause of mortality, it would be exceedingly difficult to furnish any precise data from which to show that they operate at all. With the admission that there is a good deal of truth in what is said of the monotony of an infantry soldier's life, the wearisome fixing and unfixing of bayonets, in which so much of his time is spent, this section of the subject may be dismissed.

To “intemperate and debauched habits” we attach more importance than the Commissioners seem inclined to do. It is true that, at home stations at least, the soldier has neither the means nor the opportunity of occasional drinking to excess, or constant tippling. That form of intemperance, therefore, can have but little influence in swelling the home returns. But while it cannot be doubted that the returns of sickness, which indicate the ratio of non-effectiveness from time to time, are enormously influenced by the extent of syphilitic disease, it appears to us that that cause, acting along with others to be afterwards specified, has a most serious influence on the rate of mortality. A young man of the same class in civil life, when he contracts a venereal disease, becomes an inmate of a civil hospital, the condition and arrangements of which are such

as to promote a speedy and permanent cure : or he is an out-patient of a dispensary, and while undergoing treatment follows his ordinary occupations, which afford him the best and cheapest of all medicines—fresh air. This is the only medicine that is denied to the soldier. It is necessary, in the interest of good order and discipline, that he should be placed in a hospital ward, and what these hospital wards are, the Commissioners tell us. The original, simple disease soon becomes complicated, and a syphilitic cachexy is engendered, between which and the remarkably high rate of mortality from phthisis, it cannot be difficult to establish a necessary connection. Every one acquainted with military hospitals must have been struck with the vast proportion of cases of the secondary and tertiary forms of syphilis to be found in them, and must have been driven to the conclusion that; treat the primary disease how you please, the poison takes possession of the system, and shows its virulence for years to come. What a sensible and serious drag on the efficiency of a corps this must be, we need not point out. We are satisfied that in so far as there is more chronic syphilis, in proportion to the extent of primary disease, among soldiers than civilians, the result is entirely due to the deficient supply of pure air, the want of which the surgeon is driven to the expensive necessity of attempting to supplement with a large issue of porter and costly drugs ; and this is one only of the many exemplifications that could be produced of the short-sighted policy that has stood its ground up to the present time. It is to be regretted that the Commissioners have given currency to the fable, that soldiers “ frequently conceal” these diseases. This is a notion which has always appeared to us to be a lingering remnant of the times, not very far distant, when it was the fashion to look upon a soldier, and to treat him too, as if he was but little raised above the brutes ; and it is an opinion which one hears but seldom expressed now, except by some old officers, chiefly medical officers, who may find it a useful plea for enforcing on their juniors a disgusting task, as useless for any imaginable purpose, as it is degrading and humiliating to all concerned in the execution of it. If any men are found who are so utterly foolish as to think of concealing disease, let them be put on their honour, as Mr Dartnell told the Commissioners that he did with his regiment,—let them, in one word, be treated like soldiers, and the best results will follow.

While these three causes must exercise a certain influence, there

can be no doubt that the overwhelming cause of the excessive sickness and mortality is the one which stands fourth and last in the Report, "Crowding and insufficient ventilation, and nuisances arising from latrines and defective sewerage in barracks." While extensive and expensive sanitary improvements have been carried out within late years in all our towns, they have been arrested at the barrack gates,<sup>1</sup> and refused an entrance at the very places at which it was to have been expected that an enlightened government would have enforced them. All the evidence supplied to the Commission, and all that is quoted from the proceedings of the recent Barrack Committee, tell the one uniform tale of defective original structure, defective sewerage, and above all, want of space. While we confess ourselves staggered by the rates of mortality, and quite unable to fully account for them, we entirely agree with the conclusion, that it is to this cause that they must mainly be ascribed.

The next point to consider is, on whom the responsibility for this state of matters rests, and how it is to be remedied; but it may be convenient, before doing so, to pass in review some secondary points. When the Commissioners assert, that "a soldier, on entering the service, has the prospect of dining on boiled meat for twenty-one years," they state what is very far from being strictly correct. In the first place, they themselves tell us elsewhere that the men do arrange for their rations being occasionally baked; and any one who passes a barrack of a Sunday, after church parade, may satisfy himself that enormous meat pies are not seldom to be seen in the different messes; in the second place, it is forgotten that all the twenty-one years (or rather ten years, the Commissioners strangely forget the Limited Enlistment Act) are not passed at home, and that abroad, the soldier's messing must be in some sort assimilated to the habits, and dependent on the markets of the country in which he is serving; and, in the third place, it is not boiled meat that constitutes the ordinary dinner, but soup and *bouilli*. It cannot be said that, in preparing this dinner, the best use is always made of the materials, because soldiers do not differ from the rest of their countrymen, or from their countrywomen, in respect of cooking powers, and are often not only bad, wasteful cooks, but very prejudiced and bigoted

<sup>1</sup> An apt illustration of this occurred a few years ago at Gibraltar. A sanitary inspection of all the dwellings of the civil population was made by a medical officer appointed to the duty, and a scheme of improvement was instituted and carried out. Every dwelling-place on the rock was brought within the operation of it, *excepting* the soldier's barracks.

to boot. There can be no objection to cooking ranges being supplied, giving facilities for roasting and baking, but when a piece of roasted meat is duly divided and three quarters of a pound, less bone and the necessary waste in cooking and issuing, is offered as a strong man's dinner, and offered, too, as a boon and an improvement, it may be expected that a higher value will be set on the beef and broth than Sir Richard Airey told the Commissioners is the case at present. With great respect for Sir Richard's opinion, and long regimental experience, it must be stated that soldiers not only like the present system, but stubbornly refuse to admit of any improvement in the mode of cooking. It should be remembered, too, that in a campaign, for which all arrangements in barracks and standing camps should be only preparatory, the present is the only possible mode of cooking, and we really do not know that the virtues of the meat and vegetables can be better obtained in any other way. The Great Napoleon well knew how to make soldiers, how to preserve them, and how to use them, and one of his maxims was, that "soup makes the soldier." His soup-fed soldiers,—and fed on very meagre soup, too,—beat the tallow-eating Russians, the sour vegetable-eating Germans, and on the Pyrenees and at Waterloo, stood a good deal of beating from the English, whose "stolidity" General Foy, with truth as well as sarcasm, ascribed to their solid and regular feeding. The stalwart men who did such a good day's work at Alma, and again at Inkermann, the magnificent troopers, "whose limbs were made in England," who, with a stout arm and a good sword, followed General Scarlett through masses of Russian cavalry at Balaklava, had, the Commissioners would tell us, been fed for years on monotonous boiled beef. Indeed, there is much to be said for this boiled beef. Shakspeare, to whom all subjects within the range of man's observation, should be referred, makes Orleans hope to win the day at Agincourt, because "these English are shrewdly out of beef;" and the Constable says that "that island of England breeds very valiant creatures; their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage, and the men do sympathize with the mastiffs in robustious and rough coming on, leaving their wits with their wives; and then, give them great meals of beef, they will eat like wolves and fight like devils."<sup>1</sup> Dr

<sup>1</sup> "Every French soldier carries a marshal's *baton* in his knapsack." Let every English soldier carry a copy of *Henry the Fifth* in his. It will teach him English history where Chatham learned it; and it will teach him how to deserve the *baton*, which may sometimes be better than receiving it.

Christison proposes, for all experimental diets, the best test, that the men using them should be weighed at intervals, and, certainly, tried by this test, the soup and *bouilli* would not be found wanting. It is a matter of common observation that the recruit increases much in weight very soon after joining; indeed, so marked is the influence of the new diet, that he seldom passes through his noviciate, without some brief febrile sickness caused by continued repletion. This subject of diet is one on which it is most important that a clear decision should be arrived at, and that cannot be done without calling in the aid of chemical science. Home rations may be left to settle themselves. It is with regard to field service, when the soldier has so often to burden himself, in addition to his other *impedimenta*, with so much as three days' rations, that we require definition and advice. What grounds have we for supposing that, for the next war, the Commissariat may not give us again the poisonous rations of 1854-5, or the bulky and non-transportable issues of 1855-6? It is not the proper time to settle a question like this when the country is in the midst of a great war, after the preliminary disasters that all history teaches us to look for, and when the public mind is in a state of feverish and hysterical excitement. The problem is, to establish a scale of diet, offering, in their due proportion, the animal, vegetable, and farinaceous ingredients, combined with a due regard to the important considerations of bulk, cost, transport, and preservation.

Considerable improvements have, within the last two or three years, been made in the matter of clothing, but much remains to be done, if only to remove unintelligible anomalies. The men of Highland regiments, and they only, are supplied with a sleeved waistcoat. An artilleryman must show two flannel-shirts in his kit, while a linesman does not do so, and has no room for them in his pack. In 1855-6 the men in the Crimea were encumbered and embarrassed with all sorts of warm clothing—fur, flannel, and broadcloth—and the very same men, on their return to England, were made to shiver in a jacket that weighs, buttons included, twenty-four ounces only! When they find themselves in a military prison, they are furnished, for an artificially regulated temperature, with jacket and waistcoat, together weighing fifty-four ounces. The regimental trousers weigh seventeen ounces, the prison trousers thirty-four and a half ounces. The great-coat, which, in extremities, is the soldier's only house, and one that he always carries about with him, is very capable of im-

provement. It is made of bad materials, porous, not affording sufficient warmth, and stinted in the supply of cloth. Surely, these and other deficiencies and anomalies, require only to be known to be remedied.

The greatest defects of all, and the most easy of improvement, while, at the same time, they must prove the most expensive, are in the structure of the fabric of barracks and hospitals. The grand wants are,—increased space, efficient drainage and sewerage, and a suitable arrangement of the respective buildings. But the present structures have, in most instances, been misbuilt with such perverse ingenuity, that, to them, the correct system which could be easily laid down on paper, can only be applied approximately. To thin the beds, it will be found most advisable to erect wooden huts, the use of which has been revived, and the sanitary value of which has been recognised by medical officers ever since the publication of Dr Brocklesby's observations. For new structures, it is necessary that a determinate plan should be fixed on. It cannot be tolerated that the arrangements of a new barrack or hospital should depend on the individual opinion, or perhaps the caprice of this or the other engineer officer. Indeed, it is much to be desired that the Royal Engineers, admirable as they always are in the performance of their own special duties,—such duties as they are professionally acquainted with,—should be relieved from one of which they can have but a slight knowledge. They have been tried for many years, and in every garrison town there are to be found standing and very solid records which show that they have been found wanting. Visit any hospital erected within the last few years, and what do you find? Externally, a building of the most durable and solid construction, built on a foundation of concrete, the cost of which would, according to Dr Brocklesby's views, have sufficed to provide accommodation for the sick of a division. The building seems fitted to last for ages, surely till long after that happy time when wars and rumours of wars will be no more heard in the length and breadth of the land,

“When the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furled.”

Enter—and you find small, narrow, contracted wards, too high in proportion to their breadth, the walls of rough, porous, whitewashed brick only; the different offices are all in the same style; the lavatory, if there be one, is an inconveniently placed outhouse; and the water-closet, if there be one, is probably untrapped. On bar-

raeks, we need not make any special remarks, further than by calling attention to the statements in the Report, and the valuable improvements which it suggests.

And now, all these defects and shortcomings being admitted, what is the cause, and how is a remedy to be applied? "A question to be asked." The most ready, the easiest, and the least troublesome reply is, that it cannot be done without money, and that money has not been forthcoming. It will be observed, that those to whom blame is most likely to be attached, set great store by this answer—"There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make briek: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people." A little consideration will show, however, that this explanation is not much more than superficial, and that we must go somewhat deeper to find the true remedy. It is very certain that large sums are annually voted for military buildings; it is notorious that the minister has only to put such a vote on the ground of benefiting the soldier, and all opposition from the most niggard financial reformer is pretty sure to be withdrawn. The question is, What has been done with these sums? What can be shown for them? For instance, it is only within the memory of soldiers who are not very old, that lavatories have been supplied to barraeks. The exact sum that may have been expended on these most important adjuncts cannot be here stated; but, remembering the way in which Government is made to pay for such undertakings, it may be assumed to be considerable. Now, in any workhouse, jail, or military prison, in the hospitals for poor children that so much adorn this city, the lavatory will be found conveniently placed for the use of the inmates—a dry, weather-tight, most comfortable apartment, with all means and appliances *inviting* to personal cleanliness. In every barraek that we ever visited, and we have seen many—and the lavatory is always the first place that we look for—the soldier's ablution room is a detached building, paved with stone flags, with wooden gratings laid on them; dirty-looking metal basins placed on a brick platform; the whole place wet, sloppy, and uncomfortable; in fact, all the few means and appliances *repelling* cleanliness. This may be taken as a specimen of what has been done for barraeks; but, for the many defects, it is not necessary to travel out of the Report. If the money has been given, and the money's worth has not been got in exchange, it must be in the system that the error lies. Three years ago, when, under an enor-

mous pressure, all the departments seemed to break down, there was a great outcry on the subject of administrative reform, "routine and red tape" being the particular objects of condemnation. It is not necessary, let us hope, now-a-days, to defend method and system from the ignorant attacks of these times. When the minister, under whom "routine and red tape" were supposed to have destroyed an army, was driven from office, it was said that his successor was to reform, in a rational direction, the whole method of administration; and the public, always led so much more by phrases and political predilections than by facts, seems to have pretty generally acquiesced in the opinion that he has done so. It is true that, in the course of these three years, great changes have been made; but it would be difficult to show that greater directness of action has been, in any sense, attained. We rather apprehend that, for a reason to be presently stated, a more complicated system of circumlocution has been the result. Such delay as may have been caused by certain supplies being in the hands of a distinct authority—the Board of Ordnance—has been certainly put a stop to, by the simple expedient of abolishing the Board; and there has been an enormous increase of patronage placed in the hands of a political public servant; but that there is the slightest ground for supposing that the machinery of government is in any wise more fitted for such a strain as occurred in 1854, than was the system of that day, we venture to doubt. The tendency seems to be to multiply departments and subdivide duties, rather than to simplify and define. If this were accompanied by a fixing of responsibility, and such a perfect adaptation of all the parts of the machine, as would make each individual feel the burden that is laid on his own particular shoulder, there would not be much reason to complain or to fear. If, when a new want occurs, or a cry on a new subject is raised, the simple expedient adopted is to constitute a new Board or Department, and to place at the head of it some political secretary, or to permanently employ some hack Commissioner, whose remuneration has hitherto been only, so to speak, by the job, the public need not grumble. It is right that old servants should have their interests looked after; and there may even be grounds for rewarding family connections; but when such a system is held up to admiration as the perfection of administrative efficiency, it may be permitted for us to pause before applauding. When one has occasion to transact business with a department, or sub-department, or board, and finds

that the subject of his representation is tossed about from one to the other, and that directness seems to be altogether lost sight of, he may be pardoned for thinking that Mr Dickens uttered no fanciful or extravagant mockery, but expressed a palpable, and positive, and patent truth, when he said that the grand object of his Circumlocution Office was—How not to do it. What is wanted is the contraction of duties within a circle as limited as possible—definition—prescription—the imposing of his own weight on each man's shoulder—and, above all—the driving into his mind the conviction that that weight he must bear, and the responsibilities it imposes he must cheerfully and earnestly undertake. Earnestness may be a quality which, from the nature of things and the accident of his position, a man cannot be expected to display on public affairs as he would on a private concern, or where his own intimate prospects more nearly depended on his labours; but it should be the object of a true administrator to devise some grand scheme, securing for each individual mind the imminent pressure of its own responsibility. John Bull is such a simple, good-natured creature, and, above all, so generous with his money, that he really deserves better treatment than he is apt to receive from some of his servants. He makes a great outcry when things go wrong, but words, mere words, soon pacify him. When every department seems to be out of joint, he insists that merit only should be the test of promotion—the concession is made at once—and lo! merit and the favour of some arch-jobber seem to be almost convertible terms. There is great talk, just at present, about this Report; and, doubtless, Bull will be called on to put his hands into these capacious pockets of his, in consequence. The bill will be cheerfully paid—indeed, he is most likely to grumble at the smallness of the demand; and then, whether or not the money is frittered away on new boards and departments, he will resume his customary, placid, self-complacent mien.

We have said so much, chiefly because it appears to us, that in some of their recommendations, the Commissioners have erred in the direction indicated; that they, in most instances, propose to introduce complications where all should be simple, that their tendency is rather to multiply and distribute than to simplify and concentrate. When they come to make suggestions for a new organization of hospital management, and a new arrangement of the duties of high departmental administration, they seem disposed rather to add to the

number of officials and to divide the duties under more distinct heads, then to curtail and define.

As to hospitals, they, as usual, seek some analogy in civil life, and think that they find it, in this instance, in the large civil hospitals of the metropolis. But the attempted comparison does not stand investigation. There are sick in both, and the sick must be provided for ; and there are surgeons in both ; but there the points of similarity cease. The two establishments exist for different purposes, or rather, there is one purpose in both, which in the military hospital is the sole one, but in the civil hospital is, as far as the arrangements go, the secondary one. The circumstance which makes metropolitan hospitals so well provided is, that they exist, in great measure, for teaching. Many of them are indebted for their continued existence to their students, and on that circumstance their system must be modelled. When a soldier voluntarily gives his services for ten years, he has a right to expect proper medical treatment ; but he does not surrender himself to the inconveniences necessitated by clinical teaching, which inconveniences are a part of the system of a civil hospital which the poor man knows that he must submit to when he takes the advantages of it. There can be nothing in a military hospital like the Committee or the Board of Managers of a civil establishment, with its nepotism, paltry jobs, arbitrary legislation, and irresponsibility. The military hospital must, except in one or two instances, be always too small for the staff maintained in a civil one. Furthermore, it must always, excepting in these one or two instances, be an integral part of the regiment. All its functions must be in accordance with regimental arrangements. It is not permitted to us to discuss this point, because it is settled for us. The regimental system is the fundamental system of our army, the germ from which all more extensive arrangements are developed ; and that system cannot exist, in its integrity, without the regimental hospital. And if we must sum up in one word the objections to importing any plan into that from civil hospitals, we would simply say, that every person employed in it must be in such a position, that he can, in case of misconduct, be dealt with by military law. The suggestions on this head are so much an echo of Miss Nightingale's evidence, that we will refer rather to that lady's opinions than to the body of the Report. Since her beautiful work in the East, the public has been endowing Miss Nightingale with all feminine graces, and admiring and almost worshipping her for these.

It may surprise many persons to find, from her evidence, that, added to these, she possesses not only the gift of acute perception, but that, on all the points submitted to her, she reasons with a strong, acute, most logical, and, if we may say so, masculine intellect, that may well shame some of the other witnesses. They maunder through their subjects as if they had by no means made up their minds on any one point,—they would and they would not ; and they seem almost to think that two parallel roads may sometimes be made to meet, by dint of courtesy and good feeling,—amiable motives that should never be trusted to in matters of duty. When you have to encounter uncouth, hydra-headed monsters of officialism and ineptitude, straight hitting is the best mode of attack. Miss Nightingale shows that she not only knows her subject, but feels it thoroughly. There is, in all that she says, a clearness, a logical coherence, a pungency and abruptness, a ring as of true metal, that is altogether admirable. There is no chance of her meaning on any one point being mistaken. It is unfortunate that the Scutari Hospital is the only military one of which she has any intimate knowledge, because this, like everything connected with the war, was exceptional, and what she saw there has biassed all her opinions on the management of army hospitals. Grant all that she says of the mismanagement at Scutari to be correct, and what does it amount to?—That the chief appointed was an unfortunate selection ; that necessary supplies from home were not on the spot when wanted, or not procurable, if there ; that an enormous burden was suddenly imposed, greater and sooner than was ever anticipated ; and that the standard of comfort and provision existing in the minds of influential people was much lower than it should be. These drawbacks being considered, and it being further remembered that there is not extant any definite plan for the furnishing of a general hospital, it may be easy to say that to establish one requires a high faculty of organization ; but, when a scheme of arrangement is once laid down, the organization required almost ceases. It is only necessary to take the scheme out of a pigeon-hole at the War Office, and all the rest may almost be left to packers and issuers. Sir John Liddell, who spoke from the experience of many years' most successful administration in different hospitals, told the Commissioners that “ the administration, with a *regular system*, is easy enough, and could be well performed by a medical officer, having the clerical work done by a clerk ; ” and again, that the “ Belleisle ” was fitted for the China Expedition in a few days. “ We know that

if certain stores are sent, the hospital will be complete; we have everything laid down for every patient." What can be done for a floating hospital can surely be done for one of brick and mortar; but then, it would appear that in the navy the Director-General reaches such an operation by a straight and direct course, and therein, we apprehend, lies the whole gist of the matter. The *Times* is puzzled to know why naval hospitals are so much better than army ones, and at length discovers the reason in the fact, that admirals, from living so much with seamen on board ship, know their wants better than it is possible for generals to be acquainted with those of soldiers. Truly, a wonderful reason. Officers' quarters in dock-yards are by many degrees better than military officers' quarters. Does the same reason apply here? In point of fact, generals and admirals have nothing whatever to do with the matter. The true reasons are, that votes for the navy are always more easily assented to than for the army; that naval hospitals are very few in number, and were built originally as general hospitals, whereas no general army hospital, excepting at Dublin, has ever yet been built; but chiefly, there is the important reason referred to, that the Director-General has a direct and positive voice in the whole matter.

Whether or not general hospitals shall exist for any purposes other than those which they now serve, is a question of general finance. The Phoenix Park Hospital is chiefly used to supply the deficiency of space in the regimental establishments of the Dublin garrison; so it need not be further alluded to. The purposes now served by Fort Pitt are two—the reception of invalids from abroad, and the congregation of invalids awaiting the final decision of the Chelsea Board. The latter purpose need scarcely be specified, as it would cease if the Chelsea Commissioners chose to travel to the invalids, instead of making the invalids come to them, or if they permitted final discharge to take place at the stations from which the disabilities are reported. The present theory is, that as soon as a soldier becomes permanently disabled, or labours under sickness which is likely to disable him for a lengthened period, he should be discharged. An extension of the present general hospital system beyond what Netley will be able to supply, can only be required if the public should think proper to retain chronic cases in the service, either from charitable motives, which a political economist would tell us should have no bearing on the question, or for the purpose of clinical instruction, under the idea that the professional education

of the schools can be thereby supplemented. But it will be admitted that, as to the first reason, it will be better to spend the public money on what is necessary to preserve the efficient in a state of health, before devoting any to mere charity; and, as to the second, few medical men will be likely to admit that it presents anything but an obvious fallacy.

Starting from the Scutari failure, and assuming that it is derogatory for members of the medical profession to be engaged with the small details of hospital management, Miss Nightingale proceeds to propose that they should be relieved from every duty but that of mere prescribing, and even goes so far as to recommend that, at certain stations, an integral part of the regimental system should be broken in upon, in order that, at home, there should be the means of securing such an arrangement carried out in practice. This is a most grave proposition, and it will be observed that the mishap at Scutari is the main reason assigned for it. Has the experiment not been made elsewhere; and, if so, what are the results? On the other side of the Bosphorus, there were hospitals on even a more extensive scale than the establishments on the Asiatic side, in which this system was in operation, not as an experiment, but as the perfected method of a people whose capacity for organization is much greater than ours. The French *Intendance* takes out of the hands of the surgeons every duty but that of prescribing for their patients. Not only for the distribution of subordinate duties, but for all sanitary measures, and even for the internal arrangements and furniture of the hospitals, the French army is entirely dependent on a semi-military body, consisting of men who, having risen to a certain grade, leave the regular service, and abandon their chance of further military promotion for this sort of employment. Miss Nightingale visited these hospitals, and these and other similar visits are put forward as part of the experience on which her views are propounded. A very few words about what she saw in the French hospitals would have been most welcome, and were certainly necessary to give anything like completeness to her arguments. But not one word does Miss Nightingale vouchsafe. We must, therefore, however unwillingly, look about us and apply in other quarters. Any one who has conversed with a French medical officer, must have a lively recollection of the volley of hissing execrations that always followed a suggestion of the word *Intendance*. But they, perhaps, are as bad judges of the system under which they live, as this Com-

mission seems, by the list of witnesses, to consider that our regimental surgeons are of theirs. Dr Bryce is an impartial witness; his judgment was not likely to be swayed by prejudice or prepossession one way or another; he visited, by special invitation, the only hospitals that were exhibited to strangers—and, it should be added, his visits were paid towards the end of the war, when the system had had abundance of time to show its fruits. And what did he find? Discomfort, dirt, means badly applied, and an immense mass of disease, clearly traceable to defective administration; looking on which, the medical officers could only shrug their shoulders, and regret that the whole matter was entirely out of their hands. Dr Bryce's verdict is:—"That in these extraordinary circumstances, the forms and functions of the medical staff were as closely restricted à l'art de guérir, and in questions affecting the hygiene of the troops and management of hospitals, as strictly subordinated to the *Intendance Militaire*, as they are at the Val-de-Grâce, by which means the destruction of the army was still further insured." And in a note, he adds, "M. Bauden's successful attack on this system, and its instant beneficial effects, were of too late date to influence strategic operations. His fearless remonstrances and direct approach to the Emperor, obtained for him an exceptional authority, by which, and his intelligence, he saved many thousand lives to France."

The regimental system is the one for which we have to provide.<sup>1</sup> Miss Nightingale sees this, as she does most other points, very clearly; but still, carried away by what she saw at Scutari, endeavours to avoid it by proposing that, when circumstances admit, several regimental hospitals should be so massed, as to make it possible to conduct them on the general hospital system. It is odd that, when she comes to specify the detail of medical duties by which she proposes to effect this, she does not perceive that that is entirely the system of the conglomerated regimental hospitals to which she objects. In a general hospital, properly so called, there may be two ways of conducting the medical duties. The immediate

<sup>1</sup> We need not say that, on service, general hospitals must be the rule. The Crimean army was on the march for only a week, and then for nearly two years occupied a standing camp, which was latterly as much a large barrack as Aldershot is now. There the regimental system was as easy of adoption as at Aldershot; but, in a campaign, the sole duty of the regimental staff must be to attend to the immediate wants of the sick and wounded, and then send them to the general hospitals, which are established not only at the base of operations, but at various points between the base and the army in motion.

charge of the patients may be assigned to the junior officers, and all the other officers may be engaged in "superintending" these juniors. Those least acquainted with the professional duties may have all the professional duties assigned to them; and those whose rank and years entitle us to assume that they are thoroughly conversant with these duties, may be involved, through several grades, in an elaborate system of what is called "administration." This seems to have been at one time very much the Scutari system. On the other hand, both surgeons and assistant-surgeons may be placed in charge of sick, and superintended by a very small staff of seniors, as is the case at Fort Pitt. In both cases, the supreme control must be in the hands of the principal medical officer; and all general responsibility, all beyond the immediate care of individual cases, must be in the same hands. It is necessary that the responsibility for what is general should be in different hands from the responsibility for what is particular. This is a complication, and therefore a misfortune. In the regimental hospital, the surgeon is responsible for both. Miss Nightingale has had much experience of military medical administration, and seems to know exactly what it is worth. Does she not perceive, that when several regimental hospitals are placed together, under one medical superintendence, the action of each surgeon becomes instantly paralysed? He is still held responsible by his commanding officer, who, by no plan of communication, can be brought *en rapport* with the principal medical officer, although the latter may be influencing all the general arrangements. The surgeon ceases directly to influence proceedings, for the miscarriage of which he is still liable to be called to account. His only means of attempting any desired end is that of a circumlocutory requisition, and he may be apt to find his requisition shuttle-cocked about between the Principal Medical Officer, Purveyor, Barrack-master, and officer of the Quartermaster-General's department, until it reaches the goal of the shuttlecock—by falling to the ground.

For general hospitals there cannot be too many comforts and appliances provided; and of the detail given by Miss Nightingale, it need only be said that there is nothing to criticise, and that she has exhausted the subject. The regimental hospital stands on a different footing. A soldier is but a homeless wanderer, and a dweller in the tent of a night. All that surrounds him, even when sick, should teach the military lesson, that he must be ready to march at all times. The hospital equipage must therefore be as restricted as is consistent

with mere necessity. It must be remembered, too, that the great majority of the cases are very trifling, such as do not require any complicated arrangement. If the soldier is attacked with serious acute disease—if, for instance, he has an attack of pneumonia, or other brief, sharp seizure,—he will, with cleanliness, abundant space, and a well-ordered kitchen, with some Corporal Trim for his nurse, have as good a chance as anywhere else—provided always that the six regulation lancets are carefully removed to a distance!

Miss Nightingale's hospital of the future is sketched in very prominent colours, and there is no mistaking its features. Spacious, fully equipped wards—the different services of supply, and adaptation, and issue, and apportionment, all placed in distinct hands—a supreme government over all—a sanitary officer for the bad smells—the soldier orderlies strictly subordinated to female nurses—nothing left for the surgeon but mere prescribing, to perambulate the wards, giving general instructions to all the departments, crammed full of science himself, and followed by a crowd of eager and attentive clinical pupils. In fact, he is to be just what Sir Benjamin Brodie told the Commission that he was at St George's Hospital for thirty-two years. Now, we entertain a profound conviction, that Sir Benjamin Brodies are made by no sort of machinery whatever. If a Brodie enters the army, or chooses any other path, he will eventually occupy Sir Benjamin's position, in spite of any hindrance or discouragement. If a man begins life as a dunce, or prefers idleness to work, a dunce or a lazy fellow he will remain, all rules and regulations notwithstanding. "No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature." Men become great and famous from original bent, or impelled by the firm resolve of a strong mind; but the mere mechanical methods of system avail very little. And here let us, once for all, protest against the mere talk about science that pervades so many of the Commissioners' questions, against the profane application of that sacred name to the most common and trifling things and opinions. Mr J. R. Martin is the chief offender in this respect, apparently from his desire to impose peculiar views on sanitary arrangements. It is a pity that, when Sir John Hall stated his objections to these views, Mr Martin had not a better answer for an officer of long service and vast experience than the imputation of contemptible motives. But let that pass, and Mr Martin with it; we rather quote a sentence from Dr Christison, whose position as a man of science is so high and so well assured

that he may afford to pardon our eritieism. In his otherwise admirable remarks on diet, Dr Christison says—

“Any seientifie person conversant with the present subject, could have foretold, as a certain consequence of their dietary, that the British troops would fall into the calamitous state of health which befell them last winter (1854–5) in the Crimea.”

We humbly submit, that no scientific knowledge was required to arrive at this opinion. The calamities of that winter were such as any individual, who possessed the necessary data, and was not a member of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, was capable of predicting, and could not avoid foreseeing. Was there any person present with that army in November and December 1854, who seriously looked before him, and did not feel satisfied that the calamities must occur? Nay, more, was there any one who, in March 1855, and having seen all the occurrences of the interval, was not surprised that the army had not been overtaken by even a greater measure of calamity? Is there any one who does not know, that, when men are naked and hungry, and overworked, they must die? Have we not all read Cook's Voyages? Have opinions, founded on the observations of Lind, and Trotter, and Blane, not passed into the possession of every well-informed gentleman?<sup>1</sup> The evil of so much talking about science, in the present instance, is not only that it may give currency to erroneous opinions, but that it may engender, among the weaker sort, an erroneous mode of thought and consequent action. If a young medical officer is told that his commission makes him a devotee of pure science, and that it is unworthy of his position to be engaged in any duty that has not a strictly scientific

<sup>1</sup> The scorbutic was, unquestionably, the radical type of disease. Of what was observed among the French, Dr Tholazan says—“En voulant apporter dans ce sujet la méthode rigoureuse de la pathologie moderne, j'ai rencontré une difficulté que je dois préalablement soumettre à l'Académie, parce qu'elle tient aux principes mêmes de l'observation clinique. La dyssentérie, le scorbut et le typhus, tels que nous les connaissons par les descriptions classiques, forment des groupes morbides totalement distincts les uns des autres. Quand ces affections se présentent ainsi isolées, à l'état de simplicité, il est bien facile de les reconnaître et aucun observateur ne s'y trompera. Mais que ces maladies viennent à se combiner et à se compliquer l'une l'autre, et quelquefois toutes trois à la fois, pour former, comme cela a été observé si souvent aux armées, des maladies composées, des espèces mixtes, des types spéciaux, alors le problème pathologique se complique. Les dyssentéries présentent les caractères du scorbut; les scorbutiques délirent comme dans le typhus, ou bien ils succombent au flux dysentérique; les sujets atteints de typhus ont la dyssentérie et deviennent scorbutiques; les exemples de ces mélanges ne manquent pas, presque tous les cas graves sont des cas compliqués. C'est du moins ce que j'ai observé pendant l'hiver de 1854 à 1855 à Constantinople.”

character, a most mischievous state of feeling may be the result. And there is some slight evidence of this state of feeling in the assistant-surgeon's memorial, given in the Appendix. At Smyrna, Dr Meyer, fully convinced that diet rolls should be kept by officers, could not prevail on his physicians and surgeons—a somewhat inferior description of Brodies, it may be assumed—to do so, and finally left it in the hands of ward-masters and nurses. This only shows that Dr Meyer and his staff did not sufficiently appreciate the signification of the word Duty; and if the meaning of that word is not understood, all the science in the world will not save us from catastrophe. A surgeon cannot be a good medical officer, unless he speedily acquires some soldierly feeling; and that feeling he does not entertain, if he is not prepared to turn his hands to any task that may be assigned to him, or the doing of which can promote the good of the service or his patient; or if he looks down on any occupation, in the line of duty, as being to him common or unclean.

Let us return to the detail of hospital management, for the sake of one or two further remarks. Before the Commissioners recommended an extension of the purveyor's duties, they should have given some answer to the question, what is the use of purveyors at all? It seems to be a strange system that sends two servants of the same master, the commissary and the purveyor, into the same market, to receive tenders for supplying the very same articles. If there is any truth in political economy, the result must be rather inconvenient to the master, the public. It seems very absurd that, abroad, commissariat issuers for barracks are men of humble rank, sergeants and old soldiers, while the issuers for the adjoining hospital are officers of a distinct department. But such is the case; at home, the purveyor is an issuer of small groceries and a superintendent of contracts for larger supplies: abroad, he is simply a commissariat issuer. In both cases, he audits the hospital accounts. For the furniture of general hospitals, the purveyor is an issuer under the barrack-master; for regimental hospitals, the barrack-master issues directly. It appears that this department existed for some years in a state of only suspended animation, until some hospital sergeants were discovered to be peculating; and that is the excuse given for the full-blown condition of development that recent army lists show the purveyors to have attained. We often hear of company pay-sergeants deserting with large defalcations, but no one

has yet proposed a new department in consequence of that. The defaulting hospital-sergeants can have caused a loss of but a few pounds; and it would be interesting to have a statement of the extent of their intromissions placed alongside of the large vote for the purveyor's department. There can be no reason, excepting a wish to multiply departments, why the barrack-master should not directly issue furniture, and the commissary rations, to the hospital as well as to the barrack. If it is said that the commissary would not undertake the trouble involved in the new duties, or perform them negligently, then we say that the object of Government is to make men who have duties assigned to them, and are capable of executing them, do so. But, it will be asked, who is to keep the hospital accounts? Niss Nightingale bestows a great deal of unnecessary scorn on "the small part of the army medical department who like to keep the house-keeping and book-keeping in their own hands, who do not consider how impossible it is to raise the true dignity of the department, as long as this is the case." Wordsworth was a tax-gatherer; Burns was a gauger of whisky-casks; the greatest soul that ever saw the light in England once held horses at a play-house; and we do think, that if it is shown to be for the good of the service that he should do so, the regimental surgeon may condescend to add up a few columns of figures, once a month, without much disturbance to the serene atmosphere of science, in which, by favour of Mr J. R. Martin and a Court Physician, he is, for the future, to walk. Of one thing we are very certain, that most surgeons would cheerfully undertake the trouble, if their doing so were the means of extinguishing the purveyor's department. Of all the different parts of the hospital administration, this is the one for which definition is most required. One may fancy such a department working well in subordination to the medical officers, and it may even be possible to suppose the duties carried on, if distinct from any medical authority; but to be nominally under the medical department, and still permitted and encouraged to complain of the superior medical authority, without his knowledge, and by a channel with which he has nothing to do, is a state of matters that indicates not only a most imperfect idea of system, but ignorance of the primary rules of military subordination. Such seems to be the result, when, in the "double government" of the army, the civil half usurps the function of prescribing the routine by which subordination is to be carried out.

Professional readers who study the Report without much previous knowledge of the subject, may be surprised to find so much prominence given in the discussions to "administrative medical officers," and may be puzzled to understand the meaning of the phrase. Indeed, it is worthy of note, that of all the many different points embraced by the Report, this seems to be almost the only one for which the Commissioners have not even attempted to find a parallel in civil life. It is curious, too, that the system seems to be scarcely known in the sister service. For the benefit of the outer world, we may explain, that of the six ranks into which the department is divided, the two junior ones are executive, or charged with the performance of ordinary professional duty; while the four higher ranks are administrative, or charged with the superintendence of their executive juniors. Of the highest rank, and the changes proposed to be imported into it, more anon—the question of the usefulness of two other higher grades is seriously involved in the opinions expressed as to the constitution of the supreme body;—it is the junior of the administrative grades that has attracted most of the discussion, and respecting it a very decided opinion is expressed. This rank is now looked forward to, by most surgeons, as a haven of rest, which they hope to reach when wearied by monotonous years of the routine of hospital duty. May we, in presence of so much talk about science, and so much artificial dignity, venture to say, that a "doctor" does sometimes grow tired of physic and patients? The pay, small as it is, is better than that of the surgeon; there is emancipation from what a man on the wrong side of forty is apt to think the restraints and puerilities of mess society; the duty is almost nominal; and other considerations combine with these to make the position of a staff surgeon one of the easiest and most comfortable in the service. In ordinary, quiet times, he may even lead people to imagine that he serves some real purpose in the world, by dint of going about his business with a grave face, as Mr Shandy's bull did his parish business—and with very much the same real claims on public confidence. It is precisely when some emergency arises, on which action and decision are required, that the pretension to a real place in the chain of execution, which the existence of the rank implies, is proved to be hollow and unreal; and for this most simple reason, that there cannot be, in the army, or out of it, two commanding officers. With good-nature and courtesy on the part of the superior military officer, and good sense and discretion on the part

of the staff surgeon, the latter may, as we have said, have all the outward appearance of exercising a positive function. If he ever imagines that he has direct power—indirect power, chiefly for mischief, he seems to have enough of—he is apt to play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven as may well make men and angels weep. But, generally, consciously or unconsciously, he acquires such an opinion of his true position, as induces him to abstain from practical interference. If, after this, he is still anxious to keep up the pretence of action by fuss and mere bodily activity, he may be driven to the strangest devices. It is, naturally, on the medical subordinates that the powerless arm is laid. Antiquated regulations are enforced, obsolete forms are revived and brought into effect, not so much that the interests of the service may be promoted, as that a useless official may appear to have something to do. Then may be seen a straining at the gnat of an obscure clause in a long forgotten rule, and a swallowing the camel of incompetence and ignorance. Then may be seen the amazing phenomenon of the undisguised application of the autocratic principle to the only branch of the service which requires the free play of opinion, the only branch to which this principle is totally inapplicable. The true and only solution of the administrative reform problem is this,—consolidate, simplify, lay down clear, concise, intelligible rules, which do not contradict each other, for the conduct of all matters that are palpable, and that it is possible to conduct by rule; for the execution of such duties, appoint one officer, or set of officers, one above the other in a distinct series of gradations, take care that they are competent for the duties, and have the means of carrying out that which they are appointed to do, and if, with the means and the ability, the thing is not done, then let the punishment be swift and sure, and such as could be calculated on beforehand. But, when you come to legislate for duties that involve matters of opinion, you must provide the only element in which opinion can exist, that of freedom and independence,—you must approach, as nearly as is consistent with other considerations, the grand principle of No Government. The medical profession is a strict democracy. When a man pretends to be something that he is not, on the strength of what is only accidental and extrinsic, the profession sees through him at once, and refuses to acknowledge aught that does not spring from original native force. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, all have the same property in opinion. The poorest village leech

has as much right to his opinion as Sir Benjamin Brodie. It is opinion against opinion. Let others settle the question of value,—we must not only form an opinion and assert it, but, by serious penalties, we are bound to enforce it. What, then, if a man comes and claims currency and effect to his opinion, by virtue, not of what he is and what is in him, but of what is altogether outside of him, a piece of lace or a badge, mere accidental rank! There can be few more melancholy spectacles. Rightly considered, it is a monstrous thing that any two-legged creature should, on the mere strength of such an accident, have the power to sit in judgment on the opinions of others, trying them by some arbitrary standard, and, perhaps, showing his own real inferiority by the very rules that he establishes. And if you place everywhere a series of officials for the purpose of reporting their opinions of the opinions of others to a central authority, who brings his own opinion to the consideration of such reports, and if it is felt, as felt it must be, that all this has a positive bearing on the fortunes of seven hundred and seventy-eight officers, what must be the result? A chronic dread of responsibility—a hesitation and embarrassment between two distinct authorities, whenever conflict of authority arises—a disposition to refer, in the smallest difficulty, not to the great judge of right and wrong that every man carries in his own head, but to another judge who sits by favour of rank only—and, worst of all, a desire of ingratiation, and a proneness to make important matters subserve to that ingratiation, with an authority on whom you feel that so much depends. It cannot be said that the rank should be retained, as supplying consulting physicians and surgeons, because we do not consult men who have abandoned practice. Indeed, there may sometimes be no better way of putting an administrative medical officer to flight than by consulting him about a case, bringing him down to the mere level of the profession. Let us attempt a sketch from nature. In a small, detached camp much sickness prevails, all feel its influence, many are prostrated, some are grievously sick; after a long interval, the administrative officer arrives on a visit of inspection; the surgeon, weighed on by anxieties that would oppress the most lukewarm, eagerly welcomes him, relates all his doubts, difficulties, and anxieties, the hitherto unknown form of disease, its embarrassing characters, its rapid progress, the difficulties and the hindrances to rational treatment, the recent deaths, the gloomy outlook for all: he takes him to the side of the worst case—not to the bedside, for

the poor fellow has no bed but his greatcoat, and only a knapsack for a pillow; the administrative medical officer looks at the patient, then at the surgeon, asks, "What do you call it in the register?" that is all, and he mounts his horse and rides away. Like the Levite in the parable, he, being at the place, had come and looked at him, and passed on by the other side. We may be told that there must be regular gradations, and that, in methodising ranks, we must not attempt to reach the highest too quickly; but this cannot hold in our profession. It need not be necessary to treat any "doctor," however exalted, like the Grand Llama, and make him approachable only by prostrations and "knocking of heads." As to the receiving and forwarding of correspondence, that can be done very well by an envelope; or we may adopt the hint once offered to a colonial governor, who was carrying responsible government to a rather ridiculous length, and try if the ingenious mechanics at Birmingham cannot make a machine that would perform, at no expense but that of original cost, that part of the duties of a superior staff officer. On the subject of inspections, there is a wise paragraph in the Report that makes remark unnecessary:—

"In the Army Medical Department, the inspector and the inspected are both men of science; and the latter is actually engaged in treating at his own discretion, and on his responsibility, the patients who have been entrusted to him on the presumption of his competency. The assumption, on the part of a superior medical officer, of a peremptory tone in addressing his junior, shows a want of appreciation of the dignity of the profession to which both belong. A rebuke addressed, or a doubt thrown on the treatment, in the presence of the patient, shakes the confidence of the latter in the medical officer in whose hands, without any choice of his own, he is placed, and may even mar his chance of recovery. We are satisfied that such departures from propriety, meriting as they do the severest reprobation, can be but of rare occurrence; and we have made these remarks in the belief that they will strengthen the hands of the Director-General in checking them when they do occur."

Miss Nightingale, also, disposes of the matter in her concise and pointed way:—

"With the slightest knowledge of human nature, with the commonest sense, it is obvious that the inspections, as now conducted in general hospitals, the system of superintendence, and subordination of scientific acquirements to rank, must destroy in a man his sense of responsibility, and (the most important quality, the latest acquired in a man of action, which a medical man must be) his self-reliance."

The plain fact is, and there need be no reason for concealing it here, that there is something in the medical mind that is often apt

to unfit medical men for the exercise of authority, a position which, strangely enough, they are, as a rule, particularly prone to covet. They are apt to want the undefinable something—the tact and good-manners—that take the sting from the mere mechanical laying on of external superiority. In saying this, we must, at the same time, express our full concurrence with Dr Smith's opinion, that—

“ The governor of a military general hospital should be a senior medical officer, who has shown himself a skilful administrator, and possessed of a thorough knowledge of all that is necessary to the well-working of an establishment appropriated to the reception of sick ; and he should be armed with full power to order whatever he shall consider necessary, and be only responsible, except in purely military matters, to the Minister for War, and the Director-General, from whom he should receive his instructions.”

The Commissioners recommend that the rank of first-class staff surgeon be abolished. For this one movement in the direction of simplicity, for this one recommendation that does not involve new complications, let the homage of our thanks be rendered. Had they proceeded a little farther on that line, and proposed, for some other sets of officials, some plan of “painless extinction,” as an ardent Malthusian once proposed for superfluous babies, but few tears would have been shed in this place.

When they come to the office of supreme administration, which must always exist, and for which there should be provided, what Lord Dalhousie in his statesman-like minute (Appendix, xvii.) demands for the Indian service,—“the one true, right, sound principle, unity of authority, coupled with direct responsibility,”—when they treat of the office of Director-General, the Commissioners, as in other cases, go to civil life for their guide ; but, in this instance, they have fixed on the strangest of all administrative bodies, and the Coryphæus who comes forward to chant its praises appears in the guise of a right honourable gentleman whom we had little thought to find so employed. Of all ruling bodies in the world, it is the Board of Supervision of the Poor in Scotland that they have taken as their exemplar ; and of all men in the world, it is the Chairman of that Board who expounds how the machinery of the one mode is to be applied to that of the other. When it is added that this was in the summer of 1857, the “unities” are complete, and we have all the elements of a broad farce. It was when the country was yet ringing with the revelations of the Lunacy Commission,—when Mr Edward Ellice was denouncing, in the House of Commons, the neglect and griev-

ous wrongs that our pauper lunatics had sustained at the hands of the Board,—it was, perhaps, on the occasion of his being in London to present to the Home Secretary one of the statements and explanations of their *lâches*, which the public has refused to accept, that Sir John M'Neill took the opportunity of stepping across to Whitehall Yard, and had the courage—of another man we might have said, effrontery—to present, as a perfect model of imitation, the Scotch Poor Law Board. The medical affairs of our army, and the direction of seven hundred and seventy-eight gentlemen, are to be administered after the manner in which a responsible Chairman, and a few scarcely responsible sheriffs and bailies, direct—with what results let the Lunacy Commission say—the Poor Law System of Scotland. Is this then what we have taken so long to arrive at? Is this to be the issue of all our administrative reform associations, Drury Lane platforms, and five columns in the morning papers? Is Bumbledom to be the ultimate goal of all our endeavours and all our aspirations? The Director-General is to be the chairman, the sheriffs and bailies are to be represented by councillors, with this difference, that the latter are not to possess a vote. Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Bentham, made Boards utterly ridiculous in the eyes of our fathers,—so, when new offices are to be created, Council is the modern phrase.<sup>1</sup> The system of a Board has been tried before for the same duties, and it failed. When Dr Robert Jackson was injured by the Board of his day, there was such difficulty in reaching the real culprit, that he was obliged to fight a sort of triangular duel, gibbeting the Physician-General<sup>2</sup> in print, and eaning the Surgeon-

<sup>1</sup> Sir John M'Neill, comparing great things with small, quotes the precedent of the great Indian Councils in support of his proposition. Our readers cannot need to be reminded of the striking passage in which another, and a very high Indian authority, tells us, that on the very day after the batteries of Fort William had announced the arrival of the first councillors nominated under Lord North's Regulating Act, "commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part, on one side or the other."

<sup>2</sup> The Physician-General, Sir Lucas Pepys, had been an accoucheur, was a mere court physician, and had never seen a soldier except at the palace gates. Yet he had no hesitation in sitting at a Board, and legislating for soldiers. How curiously does the revolution of time bring back to us old phenomena!—In respect of one of his qualifications, Sir Lucas may have lived before his time. Boswell gives us a very interesting account of what Dr Johnson saw and noted when he visited Bennet Langton at Warley Camp. We read, for instance, that "in walking among the tents, and observing the difference between those of the officers and private men, Dr Johnson said, that the superiority of accommodation of the better conditions of life to that of the inferior ones was never exhibited to him in so distinct a manner." It does not appear that he saw, or

General, for which latter luxury he cheerfully suffered imprisonment. Coleridge said that a Board had neither a soul to be saved, nor a body to be kicked. By the proposed arrangement, it would appear that the councillors are to do the work, and the Director-General is to receive all the kicks. There is to be a medical, a statistical, and a sanitary councillor. As has been said, they are not to vote; but they are to represent, suggest, minute, refer, advise, refer back, refer among each other—need we say more? Is it not all written in the tenth chapter of *Little Dorrit*, and have we not all laughed over the absurdity? A medical assistant and counsellor the Director-General always has had, and always must have; and if his being called a Councillor makes his position more permanent, independence may be increased, and, so far, a gain secured by the change. Statistics have a great fascination for some persons; and if it is always borne in mind that no column of statistical figures can be produced that is not full of fallacies, they may even be useful. It is not a necessary part of the system, but if it is desired that there should be a clerk engaged in the preparation of statistics, let one be employed by all means. The faculty of cunningly manipulating figures can give no claim to being looked on as a good medical adviser, nor need a good statistician be therefore a good administrator. It is to the Sanitary Councillor that we chiefly object. We do so, partly because the idea of a council is opposed to Lord Dalhousie's "sound principle of unity of authority, coupled with direct responsibility," but chiefly because of the great importance that we attach to the efficient carrying out of sanitary improvements. The profession has been gradually coming to the conclusion, that the physician has a duty to perform anterior to the occurrence of disease—to know the external causes, and how to remove them. It is something very like a retrograde movement to propose that he should concern himself only with the disease, and leave the other matter to a separate and special officer. It is almost puerile to say, as the Commissioners very gravely say, that that Sir Lucas—who, by the way, was a near connection of Bennet Langton— Influenced by early predilections, endeavoured to establish, what the *Times* now insists should form an essential part of our modern camps—a strange institution, surely, in a camp of instruction for soldiers—a lying-in hospital. Sir Lucas Pepys would have made an excellent obstetric councillor, and we may yet live to see such a functionary take his seat at Whitehall Yard. This reminds us of a *dictum* of the Duke of Wellington. It was once proposed to him that military surgeons should include midwifery in their practice. The Duke's answer was, "When soldiers are confined, then let military surgeons attend them."

because health officers are employed in towns and districts under certain Acts of Parliament, therefore a health officer should be appointed to sit in Whitehall Yard. There are, in civil life, local interests, opposing interests, and vested interests to contend with, which require a distinct official for the carrying out of these Acts. In civil life there was not a set of officers made to hand for the performance of the duties, and, therefore, it was necessary to create them. In the army, a whole department of educated officers, who are the successors in direct succession of the men who made sanitary science what it is, is ready, and able and willing to undertake the duties, and we are to pass it by and import a new functionary. Let any one read this enormous book from beginning to end, and endeavour to find some solid reason for this proposal, and we assert that he will find none. A Crimean Sanitary Commissioner was produced, apparently for no purpose but to support a foregone decision. It was not, we may suppose, to tell the story of his "wound" that Mr Rawlinson was examined, or that the judgment of a civil engineer may be passed on the services of the medical officers, although the wound and its attendant circumstances are described with great eloquence, and the judgment is given in very feeling language. We must scan Mr Rawlinson's evidence, as pointing straight to the institution of a sanitary councillor. And what reasons does he give? He is asked, what steps should be taken if fever appears in a hut, and here is his answer :

"According to my experience, if fever occurs, and if there are healthy men in a hut where there is fever, you must either shift the men or thin the hut ;"—

An opinion, the sagacity of which is only surpassed by its novelty. Is this science? Again, when more directly showing the advantage of special sanitary supervision,

"We found one regiment at the front, an example of what may be done. Lord West was the colonel. The hospital huts were paved inside, and they were paved round the outside, so as to be clean and neat. There was also a convalescent seat prepared for the sick soldier on the shaded side of the hut, and they had loose hospital shoes, lined with fur, to slip their feet into when they required to go to the rear."

Is this science? How is the Sanitary Councillor to employ his time? He cannot sit at a board prating all day about "zymotic disease," after the manner of sanitary enthusiasts; and if the sanitary recommendations of the Commissioners are carried out, it really

does seem as if he will have little else to do. Let us assume that the recommendations are carried out, by their being incorporated with the general orders of the army, and by the different officers being made to do their duty, each in his own department, and that it can be done at less expense, and with less difficulty, than some noble lords and right honourable gentlemen may be disposed to admit, we entertain an assured belief,—what then becomes of the Sanitary Councillor? His duties are at an end. The sacrifices once made, there need not be perpetual offerings to the two dirty goddesses, Mephitis and Cloacina. Are there any specialties of hygiene—what may be called its mysteries—that a man may not tell on his ten fingers? Is there anything required for a sanitary officer but a certain modicum of common sense, acting on the most common knowledge of the most common things? Are there any of the details on which the student has not received full instruction from such teachers as our distinguished Professor of Medical Police? What we want for carrying on sanitary work, is not so much science as common sense;

“Tis sense,  
Good sense, which only is the gift of Heaven,  
And tho’ no science, fairly worth the seven.”

To conclude, the proposal of this council and of this sanitary element indicates a marked ignorance or disregard of the peculiar feelings of the profession, and cannot possibly tend to the promotion of the objects that we all have in view.

It is said that when it was the fashion, three years ago, to abuse and vilify the medical department, and when everybody was writing a more abusive letter than his neighbours about it to the *Times*, by far the most abusive, the most virulent, and envenomed of all the letters that filled the waste basket at Printing House Square, were from members of the medical profession. Although we trust that, in offering a few remarks on the personal status of the officers of that department, we may hope for a more indulgent audience than seems to be promised by the moral of this little story, still, it cannot be denied that the medical officers of the two services are sometimes looked on with little favour by the profession at large. The notion seems to be, that as soon as a member of it puts on a red coat, he, therefore and thereby, becomes deteriorated, and contrasts unfavourably with his brother or fellow-student who has retained his black coat. Need we say here, that it is not a man’s clothes that

we should look to, but the man himself? Position and circumstances are mere accidents, and affect our mind, the only real part of us, very little. In one or two respects, they should be in favour of the medical officer. He is not rooted, for life, to one narrow spot of earth, and his vision is not bounded, perhaps cramped, by a narrow horizon. He visits many countries, and sees various peoples; and this should expand his mind and make it robust. He has time for other pursuits. He need not direct all his faculties in one line, to such a degree that he comes to merge his individuality in his profession, and ceases to be anything but a mere diagnosing and prescribing machine. He can wear his profession like a cloak, to be put on or laid aside at pleasure. If we appeal to all for a favourable mood, we have a right to ask for it more particularly in this place, which yearly sends forth so large a contingent to the two services, and whose famous medical school owes its beginning to the father and brother of a medical officer, whose name, throughout four generations, has been familiar to us all, and whose medical history of one of the German campaigns occupies a high place in professional literature. But, indeed, what does not that literature owe to these men? From Wiseman to Guthrie, there is an unbroken *catena* of worthies, furnished by the two services, who have illustrated every campaign and every expedition. If hygiene has a history and a literature, it is to these men that it is owing. And it is on the successors and representatives of these men that the Sanitary Nuisance of which we have been speaking is to be imposed!

When we have to specify the character of status and degree of remuneration that should be accorded to the medical officer, it is, above all things, necessary that we should fix on our ultimate idea, and carry it out through the whole course of the argument. The Crimean surgeons, whose memorial seems to have given the first impetus to the discussion, find many rich dainties spread for their military brethren—brevet rank, honours, good service pensions, command money, and so on—and incontinently proceed to ask for them all, like greedy children who wish to eat of every dish at a feast. If an arbitrary analogy between the two positions is permitted to be drawn, it may be very easy to show that the military officer reaps more pecuniary, as he very properly and necessarily derives, more honorary rewards. But such an analogy is inadmissible. As well compare the surgeon with the Lord Chancellor or the Archbishop of Canterbury as with a captain. It appears to us,

that we reach our object better, and, at the same time, are in more strict accordance with original fact, if we ask that the military surgeon be looked on as a civilian, whose services are to be remunerated according to a civilian, not a military standard. No one proposes to make our military officers mere mercenaries, which might be the case if there were a large money inducement for them to enter the service. The theory must be, that they serve for honour and distinction. Then, their prizes are rank, authority, the admiration of their countrymen, the smiles of fair women, a peerage, and Westminster Abbey. The case of the medical officer is altogether different. Here there must be no excitement. The qualities desiderated are those of the calm judgment, the clear undisturbed eye, the untrembling hand. His duties are performed in silence, away from all the excitement of applause, away even from observation. There are for his career, it does not need to be said, high, bright, and glorious rewards, but rewards such as can be expressed in the phraseology of no Court of Heralds, and such as a Secretary for War can neither give nor take away. What a Secretary for War has it in his power to bestow is good pay, and the means of providing a higher degree of material comfort. If the reader agrees with us so far, he may very speedily dismiss all consideration of brass scabbards, black belts, substantive rank, and some other such things about which there has been rather too much dismal talk. Disencumbered of such matters as these, the question is really one of the simplest. What is wanted is a fair remuneration for fair work, for men whose profession gives them a certain standing in the world, and to whom are open other paths to success. But, indeed, the irresistible logic of circumstances has removed the whole question from the sphere of discussion and reduced it to a point at which even Mr Frederick Peel would admit that a great change must take place. The Government, which, when war was raging, admitted the validity of the claims put forward, and prepared a warrant in accordance with them,—which, immediately on peace being concluded, declared that these claims could never be entertained, and withdrew the draft warrant,—has, within the last few months, been compelled, by the dearth of candidates, to grant one small instalment of the full measure which, under a more severe pressure, it was prepared to concede in 1856. And as, when the man market is depressed, Sergeant Kite, on the broadest posters, in the largest type, announces that the bounty has been raised and that

the standard has been lowered, so, in the recruiting advertisements for Medical Candidates, it is declared that—

“THE MINIMUM PAY OF AN ASSISTANT-SURGEON IS 10s. PER DIEM,”

and that the maximum age has been raised to twenty-eight years—with, if report is to be credited, the most imperfect results. It is said that candidates do not respond to the voice of the charmer, and so, Sergeant Kite must needs raise the bounty again. He has the opportunity of doing it, this time, like a statesman.

Two schemes of pay and retirement were submitted to the Commission, between the aggregate expense of which there is a difference of L.16,470. One scale is conceived in a large and liberal spirit, and, if that is an element of consideration, would please every one. The other is somewhat stinted, and is little likely to induce those who may be inclined to hesitate, to accept its offers. An increase of a shilling or two in the daily rate of pay may be appreciated by those who have studied military economics, through some years of rigid impecuniosity; but if we are to invite a very high class of men—that class which produces a great surgeon about once in a century—which seems to be the wish of the Commissioners,—if, to speak in a lower key, we wish to procure the class which supplied candidates a very few years ago, something more must be offered than a trifling increase of the present rates, and some other prize must be held out than the prospect of reaching, after the twenty best years of one's life have been given to the service, “the rank of surgeon-major, with a small increase of pay.” When a young surgeon looks about him to determine on his future path, he is influenced much less by the amount of genius or of science that he may think himself possessed with, than by the state of his purse, present and prospective. He must always make up his mind to eight or ten years of pinching and unrealised hope. What is most likely to determine him, is that extent of remuneration that may be expected after these eight or ten years have passed. It is precisely to this question that the second scale gives no answer. The only period of life which it scarcely proposes to improve, is the years between thirty and forty, the most useful years of a man's life, and, as it happens, the years at which the military surgeon is the most important official of his class, when he is most likely to have the responsible and direct charge of sick. It should be added, that the second scale contemplates the removal of the first-class staff

surgeons, while the first provides for their retention ; so that, in the event of their being abolished, the aggregate cost of the more liberal scheme would be materially reduced.

“ A participation in military honours for medical officers,” is a delicate question. When the soul of truth and of original intention has departed out of any old institution, it is little better than a dead, putrescent mass. Even in these latter days, one may be able to appreciate the truth and beauty that characterised the old orders of knighthood ; but

“ The old knights are dust,  
 Their good swords are rust,  
 And their souls are with the saints,  
 We trust.”

It may be owing to dimness of vision, but we cannot recognise the marks of a direct descent, when we think, on the one hand, of the Cids and Sir Bediveres of olden times, and when, on the other, we look on a modern medical knight, or, indeed, some of the other knights that one meets now-a-days ; and the surgeons who signed the memorial would have done well to consider, that, while they are taking their fair share in the heat and the burden of a critical day, the “ honours ” may be reaped by some spruce administrative gentleman, who, somewhere in the neighbourhood of their labours, is issuing ungrammatical orders, or inspecting groceries, or engaged in the by no means irksome task of superintending the duties of others.

Competitive examinations there are to be, of course. It is much too late in the day to enter an objection to that. But one remark on its bearings on this particular subject may not be out of place. In the exercise of his duties, the medical officer is brought in contact with a class of men who, more perhaps than any other, attach importance to a certain arbitrary standard of feelings and external conduct, which are supposed to distinguish what is called a gentleman. The candidate may be highly charged with science—so highly charged, that it sparkles off in all directions, much to the inconvenience of bystanders ; but without the freemasonry to which we allude, which examination papers can certainly never discover, it may tend very little to harmonious and effective co-operation. No witness seems to have said that this qualification has been better supplied by the competitive than by the nomination system. Should the competitive examination monomaniacs succeed in deteriorating

the present standard in the case of military officers, all classes would stand more on a level, and our objection would of course fall to the ground.

We have expressed ourselves very imperfectly, if it has not been long ago apparent that we wish to speak of all these matters in a conservative spirit, and to look at them from a conservative point of view. The present writer has, in his very humble way, and keeping his opinions very much to himself, been an army reformer ever since he knew what a soldier is. He may, therefore, claim to have been longer on the list than some who are now foremost in the cause—longer, for instance, than the veteran statesman who was Secretary at War when Lord Wellington was in the Peninsula, contending with the impediments of the War Office, more formidable to him than all the marshals of the Empire, who has been a member of nearly every administration that has been formed since, and has therefore had countless opportunities of carrying out the improvements of which he has recently become so ardent a partisan ;

“ Fast friend is he to reformation,  
Until 'tis gone quite out of fashion.”

As that of an old reformer, then, if this writer's feeble voice could be heard in influential quarters, it would be raised to entreat that a cry for revolutionary changes should be avoided by the prompt concession of what is just, right, and necessary. Let our army be as bad as it is painted by the lowest Sunday newspaper, still that army, badly officered, badly cared for, it may be, has in its time done, is now—while we in England do no work to-day, but talk, talk, always talk—doing, some world-famous things, the recollection of any one of which should make our pulses bound with national pride, and should teach us to pause before yielding to a torrent of popular outcry, that may lead us—whitherward, no man can tell.

We must not conclude without paying a tribute of admiration to the judgment, ability, and good feeling, with which Mr Herbert conducted the duties of the Commission. Let us forget the unlucky deeds of 1854–5, or, better, remember them only as a warning for the future, not as a text for mere idle recrimination ; and may the revolution of parties speedily place Mr Herbert in a position, for which no man in England is better fitted, in which he will be given the opportunity of acquiring a title that few men in England,

except Earl Grey, have already done so much to deserve—a title that we venture to think would be very dear to him—the proud title of the Soldier's Friend.

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## PART SECOND.

(*From the Edinburgh Medical Journal, June 1858.*)

IN our remarks on the recent Sanitary Report, in last month's *Journal*, and also, on previous occasions, we ventured to say that for efficient and useful sanitary work, science, strictly so called, is much less required, and is of much less avail than common sense or mother wit; and we supported the opinion with such arguments as occurred to us. We are now enabled to put forward an argument of the best sort—a practical illustration of our views. In the subjoined paper from the *Saturday Review* of 1st May, no less important a matter than the health of the army in India is treated by a reference to those considerations only for which we expressed a preference.

### THE HEALTH OF THE ARMY IN INDIA.

The rate of mortality among our soldiers in India is ten per cent. per annum—four times as great as the mortality among all ages in this country. It costs L.120 to replace each dead soldier; so that the necessary reinforcements to keep up an army of 100,000 men (which some think requisite) would cost us L.1,200,000 a year. Thus a most serious question of expense, as well as of humanity, will arise, unless something can be done to improve the health of the troops. Persons of much practical experience think that this may be done, if the Government are willing, by changes in the present system; for the mortality among the officers, who can choose their own quarters, *and get to the hills*, is only half that among the privates.

Let us begin with the first landing of the soldiers in India. Every medical man well acquainted with the climate will say, that it is of the utmost importance to bring the new comers, who have been shut up for some time on board a ship, into the country at the beginning of the cool season—that is, not sooner than the end of October—so that they may have at least five months before them in which they can take moderate exercise, recover a good state of health, and accustom themselves by degrees to the climate, before the great heats at the end of April set in. Now, this precaution has hitherto been utterly neglected. It may be confidently affirmed, that out of every three European regiments sent to India, two have been introduced there in the hot season, and,

perhaps, worst of all, in the midst of the rainy season. The men are transferred at once from the comparative coolness of the ocean climate to the stifling heat of the shore, to which they have never been accustomed. They land with their bodies in a bad state, from long want of exercise; they are shut up in their dreary barracks for ten hours at least of the broiling day, or else, worse still, they escape into the sunshine; and the consequence is, that before a week's end nearly ten per cent. of the whole are on the sick list. Surely, with common forethought, it would be as easy for our Government to provide, in ordinary years, that soldiers should enter India in the interval between the latter half of October and the beginning of March, as during the rest of the year.

And now, supposing the soldiers landed in the Bengal Presidency, where are they located, and what sort of quarters do they find? The chief stations hitherto for British soldiers have been Calcutta, Dumdum, Berhampore, Dinapore, Ghazeepore, Benares, Chunar, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut. All these stations, excepting those of Benares, Cawnpore, Ghazeepore, and Meerut (seven out of eleven), are notoriously and in a peculiar degree unhealthy in the hot season.

To begin with Calcutta. The soldiers on landing are placed in Fort William. The spot upon which this fortress is built was a most pestilential swamp. Although now thoroughly drained, and therefore, in the cool season, harmless enough, and even pleasant, no sooner does the rainy season set in than the excessive heat with moisture calls forth unmistakeable signs of miasma. Now, in order to preserve health in India, it is absolutely necessary to have refreshing sleep *by night*—not in the day, for that cannot supply the want of nocturnal sleep; and it is the want of this for weeks and months together, when our soldiers lie upon their cots bathed in sweat, tossing about restlessly to and fro, and rising up as tired as when they lay down, that lays the foundation for climatic diseases. But in order that Europeans may have refreshing sleep during the hot season, and especially in the rainy part of it, it is absolutely needful that a gentle air should blow upon them; and, of course, in places subject to miasma, it is also necessary that the sleeping apartments should be placed high above the noxious exhalations. In the *soldiers'* barracks of Fort William (we do not speak of the officers'), neither of these conditions is observed. The buildings are so constructed that it is impossible for the cool breeze to pass through them during the hot season, and they are not placed high enough to be above the reach of the marsh miasma. The wretched men, suffocated with heat, attempt to bring out their cots into the open air, in the hope of an hour or two's cool repose, but are sternly thrust back on two pretexts—decency and the care of their health. The consequence is, that the mortality of our soldiers in Fort William during the hot season is truly awful.

Secondly, as to Dumdum. This is a station surrounded by *paddy fields* (old Indians know what the word indicates) and swamps; and it is so ill-drained, that in the height of the rainy season one cannot pass from one part of the cantonment to the other—except on made brick and coucker roads—without being over one's shoes in water. The soldiers' barracks here, though

not so bad as in Fort William, are yet very hot and not sufficiently ventilated ; and the same remarks apply to the hospital at that station. A great deal remains yet to be done at Dumdum before it can be pronounced tolerably healthy for Europeans, if, indeed, it can ever be made so in the hot and rainy season.

Next we come to Berhampore, whither it has been the custom to send newly-arrived recruits ; and it has even been made the head-quarters and depôt of more than one regiment, as if it were a peculiarly convenient and healthy place. But the fact is, that this station is peculiarly unhealthy. It is almost surrounded by deadly swamps, and the greater part of its dwellings are actually below the level of the river, when its waters are flooded during the three or four months of the rainy season. It is no wonder if our soldiers die off quickly here.

Dinapore is a very pretty station, as the passing traveller would remark, with its barrack-square nicely built and neatly kept. But when one comes to examine into the matter more closely, one finds that the *soldiers'* barracks are so constructed that no refreshing breeze can reach them by night, for the length of the building runs from east to west, and the windows are north and south. The breeze at night, in these parts of India, comes from the west in the hot, dry season, and from the east in the rainy season. Entrance, therefore, is forbidden to both in the soldiers' barracks at Dinapore.

Next we pass to Ghazeepore, and then to Benares. We have nothing particular to say against either of these stations. Of course, from April to October, they produce, as all stations in the *plains* of India must, the average fearful rate of mortality among our troops.

Luckily, very few English soldiers are posted at Chunar ; and therefore we will only say that the heat of the fort is something almost beyond the imagination of an Englishman to conceive, and that if any commander wished his soldiers to die quickly, he could not do better than put them there during the hot winds and rains. Much the same may be said of the fort of Allahabad. When the Europeans had fled thither for refuge, during the late mutiny, they found it so intolerable to remain there, even for a few days, that they preferred returning to their dwellings in the open country, even at the risk of being caught by the mutineers. In that fort there are ranges of two-story buildings constructed by English engineers, in the ground floor of which, by means of sitting in utter darkness, with a well-watered *tatty* at one of the windows, one may pass through the season of the hot winds in tolerable coolness. The upper story is, without exaggeration, a burning oven. But the English soldiers are not placed in these European buildings, though four-fifths of them remain generally empty, but are quartered in the Indian buildings of the fort, where the old story of intense heat and no ventilation is repeated. It need hardly be added that our troops drop off there very fast.

Of Cawnpore we would only remark, that whilst most of the barracks are well enough, there is one large barrack along the whole length of which runs, not many yards distant, an open drain, which serves as the sewer to the whole place. The heat of Cawnpore is notoriously excessive, far above most localities in that part of India. Concerning the fort at Agra, it need only be said that

in its defects it is almost precisely similar to those of Chunar and Allahabad, only perhaps a shade more unhealthy. Of Meerut we have nothing to say in dispraise. The cool season in that part of India and in the Punjab is much longer than in the provinces lower down and in Bengal, and the rainy season, the most unhealthy part of the year, is much shorter. The consequence is, that our soldiers seem to thrive better in those provinces.

There is a remedy for the evils we have described, which has been actually tried in the West Indies, and found to answer the most sanguine expectations. Every one acquainted with the history of the West Indies will remember that they were formerly spoken of, and justly too, as the very grave of English soldiers. Even officers have quitted the army rather than go there. No wonder that such a mortality prevailed, when our troops were always cantoned in the burning low country. If any one island was infamous above all others for sickness it was Jamaica. There the soldiers used formerly to be cantoned in a place as low as could well be chosen, and the crowded burial grounds soon received them. Latterly, however, the British Government has been better advised. The military authorities have opened their eyes to see that there are *mountains* in Jamaica, in many parts of which the climate is as cool as in the countries of the Mediterranean, if not cooler. They have tried the experiment of making cantonments in those mountains; and our soldiers now stationed in those cantonments do not suffer from a mortality as great as in the so-called pleasant and healthy climate of the Ionian Islands. An English clergyman, travelling in the West Indies during the winter months of 1848 and 1849, for the health of his child, was invited by a gentleman well known in Jamaica for his zealous support of railroads there, to come and spend the next *summer* in that island, instead of returning to England; and when he asked with astonishment how an English gentleman and his child could get safely through a Jamaica summer, he was answered, "Oh, I can offer you a delightful dwelling in the mountains, quite close to my own house and the Archdeacon's, who spends the hot weather always there; and we shall not be far from the soldiers' camp, so that we shall have plenty of company." And when he inquired how the officers and soldiers fared in the hot weather, the answer was—"They are quite as healthy as in England. You will see rosy faces there; and they are out of doors nearly all the day long." That same clergyman was in Barbadoes for some months in 1849. The yellow fever was then raging among the troops, and depression of spirits was universal among them. But as soon as the commanding officer removed them from their cantonments to Gun-hill (which, however, is less than 1000 feet above the level of the sea), the sickness almost immediately ceased; and so, in the other West India islands, at a certain height above the level of the sea, it is well known that yellow fever never attacks Europeans. The question is whether the experiment, so successfully begun in the West, ought not now to be carried out in the East Indies.

It is hardly forty years since the British became thoroughly acquainted with the mountain regions of India and their climate. Few of our stations then were near them, and we believe that, even yet, a foreign territory intervenes between Simla and our own stations on the plain. They were visited only now and then by some solitary traveller or sportsman, and were supposed to be

merely unhealthy jungles, habitable, if at all, only by the barbarous aboriginal people of India, who existed there in the lowest misery of savage life. But as our increasing territory approached nearer and nearer to the hills, it was discovered that many districts among them were blessed with an excellent climate, and, by degrees, advantage was taken of this. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief soon had bungalows constructed for themselves, and were followed, not long after, by persons of rank and fortune, by whose favourable reports public attention throughout the Bengal Presidency was aroused to perceive the benefits that might be secured by a residence in those regions during the hot season. And now, many pleasant stations have been constructed at various points in the hills, whither all sick persons who can afford the expense, and who can obtain leave of absence, flock for refuge. Officers, within a reasonable distance, will ask for leave, even if only between the monthly musters, to run up to the hills and enjoy a few weeks' coolness there. The question is, whether the same advantage might not be extended to the men, by building stations for them in the hills, and sending them there in large bodies every hot season.

The whole of India, from north to south, and from east to west, is intersected by continual chains of hills—divided, we may say, into small triangles by them, so that one or other of them may be reached from all the stations where our soldiers are placed, within a fortnight's march at the utmost. It may be granted that all these mountain ranges are not equally healthy; but upon all of them may be found spots infinitely more healthy than the burning plains. It is true, also, that all the mountain ranges are not equally high; but they are sufficiently so to secure a desirable and healthy coolness. At the height of only one thousand feet above the level of the sea, cool *nights* begin. They will give our soldiers refreshing sleep, and enable them to bear without injury the heat of the day; and, we repeat, it is the want of cool nights in the plains, and the consequent want of refreshing sleep, that lays the foundation for those climatic diseases under which our troops perish. At the height of four thousand feet, one finds a comparatively cool climate, and at six thousand feet the climate nearly of England. Such a height as four thousand feet is easily attainable in any of the mountain ranges.

As to the question of expense, supposing that the Government engineers were ordered to erect at each hill-station, in brick and stone, the usual building supposed to be necessary—viz., barracks, hospital, magazines, officers' quarters, and (as the prevailing custom is) a handsome church—the outlay would be enormous. But Anglo-Indians know that the best buildings to keep off heat—ay, and rain too—are not those in the European fashion, of brick and stone, but the native huts, whose walls are made of bamboo poles and matting, and the roof of thick grass thatch. The whole cantonment might be made entirely of these, and, if properly cared for, would last in good condition for three years. The expense of constructing one such hut, capable of holding in comfort twenty men, ought to be, at the most, one hundred rupees—that is L.10; for, at this very cost, chapels for native Christians capable of containing a hundred worshippers conveniently (and not ugly either), have often been built. To quarter

a man, therefore, in safety during the hot season would not cost more than 10s. ; while to *lose* him in the plains below will cost L.120. We do not reckon their marching to the hills as much, if any, additional expense ; for things are supposed to be always in readiness, and the men in marching order, and they carry themselves on the road.

So much for the expense of this novel experiment. But, indeed, it is not entirely novel, even in India, for we hear of two English regiments already having been cantoned near Simla, which were brought down to the plains, together with the Commander-in-Chief, on the first news of the mutiny breaking out. And this example seems to meet the natural objection as to the danger of withdrawing English troops from the plains during six months of the year. We do not find that the two English regiments just alluded to were much behindhand in rendering assistance at the beginning of the campaign. But supposing—what is very unlikely—that a general revolt of the ill-armed native population were to break out at one moment throughout the whole of India, English soldiers, descending from the nearest hills in bodies of three, four, or five thousand men, would probably soon render a good account of the revolters. In the same manner as the mere report of the approach of General Havelock began to quiet the district around Agra, so it would be in this case. The English would not have come to blows, for the mere knowledge of the fact that they were near at hand, healthy, strong, and well armed, and in tolerably sufficient numbers, would so discourage the would-be revolters, that they would remain as quiet as mice. In our opinion, therefore, the *whole* of the English troops might be safely sent for six months to the hills ; but if that cannot be granted—if some small force must be kept to garrison the forts and watch over the magazines in the plains—arrangements might be made that every soldier should spend two at least out of every three hot seasons in a cool climate ; and this alone would support the spirits and keep up the health of the men more than can be imagined.

Some may object that, at the foot of all the mountain ranges, there is a belt of deadly jungle to be passed through, in which our soldiers would be struck down by jungle fever, and so put upon the sick list before they arrived at the place which was to restore health and strength to them. The answer is, that the jungle, at the widest part, is not above twenty miles broad, and in some places not half as much. An opening half a mile wide might easily be cut, the land on each side thoroughly drained, and a hard road made in the centre for our troops to march through ; and not one in twenty would experience the least inconvenience. The unhealthy belt does not frighten away our Governor-Generals and our Commanders-in-Chief nor the rich, who may, though sick, manage to pass through it safely ; and so will our soldiers, with proper care. The objection, that there are diseases peculiar to the mountain regions, which might prove as fatal to our men as those of the plains, need hardly be answered, except with this remark—they are of the same character as those they would meet with in England. And, to conclude, the natives of those parts would receive our troops with open arms as soon as they understood the objects of their settling there ; and they would be soon allured to bring the necessary provisions in sufficient quantities, while they themselves would be civilized by

coming in contact with Englishmen. These remarks apply to the mountain ranges all over India.

Not the least merit of this very able paper, in our eyes, is that, unlike the utterances of the sanitary specialists, it does not once, from beginning to end, use either the much-abused term "science," or the unscientific term "zymotic." No one will pretend to say that the officers who selected the sites, or constructed the barracks spoken of, were wanting in science; and the reader may be disposed to agree with us, that they would perhaps have thought more of such considerations as the usual direction of the winds, and the neighbourhood of *paddy fields*, if they had been less encumbered by scientific technicalities.

Our review was, of necessity, so short in proportion to the enormous book that it professed to consider, and the very many points embraced by the Commissioners' Report, that we may take this opportunity of craving permission to make a few supplementary remarks.

We pointed out the radical difference between the general and regimental hospital, that there need not be, for the requirements of the service, more than one general hospital; and we showed how much the Commissioners had brought themselves to put forward erroneous suggestions, in consequence of their having reasoned, *from* the shortcomings of the vast and exceptional general hospital at Scutari, *to* new arrangements for the small regimental establishments. We also showed how quite impossible it was that the Scutari hospital could be anything but a failure when, to say nothing of definite rules of administration, there is not even now extant a thing of such primary importance as a schedule of furniture and utensils for a general hospital.<sup>1</sup> In such a state of utter anarchy as these wants necessarily caused, all must have depended on one or two accidents, principally on the immediate medical chief; and from Miss Nightingale's statements, it would appear that the officer selected at Scutari was unequal to the vast and more than embarrassing task that was assigned to him.

A similar current of fallacy seems to run through what is said of the duties of the Director-General. We are asked to believe that

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to note the following direction given by Dr Donald Monro in 1764, and remember that one of the first and most severely felt defects of supply at Scutari in 1854 was the want of shirts:—"Every military hospital ought to have a number of shirts belonging to it, for the use of the sick who arrive without having clean linen with them."

these duties are so overwhelming that no one individual can possibly overtake them, and it is after this opinion has been presented in the strongest possible light, that the Council of three is recommended. Now, if there is no code of regulation ; if the system is such that, in any emergency, the surgeon rushes, trembling and embarrassed, to the Director-General, the accumulation of letters and references in his office must be such as no man or set of men can attempt to cope with. There being no code of positive rules, every subject, however trifling, must be considered without reference to what has gone before ; and the decision on that subject cannot be quoted as ruling on what may come afterwards. All this one can easily understand. But when the Commissioners, stating all this, propose that regulations, and system, and method be introduced, they propose the simplest and surest remedy for the evil ; and the three councillors, one reason for proposing whom is that they may relieve the Director-General of much of his work, will be, as far as that reason goes, unnecessary. It may be possible to imagine a system of administration so perfect, with such well-adapted methods, that the amount of work would be minimised, until there ceased almost to be any work at all. Indeed, the system might almost be made to carry on itself like a piece of self-acting machinery.

As to the gifts and qualities required in the Chief of a medical department, again, we have the misfortune to differ from the Commissioners. We do not think it necessary that he should be “at once an authority in sanitary science, in statistics, in medicine, and in surgery”—not, at least, as we understand these terms. It is not a Professor of scientific technicalities that is wanted, and a great physician or surgeon may make the very worst Director-General. Above and beyond such endowments, it is necessary that he be an accomplished, courteous, upright, truth-loving, God-fearing gentleman. He must know, thoroughly and intimately, the habits, tastes, prejudices, weaknesses—the ins and the outs—of that somewhat unintelligible individual—a British soldier. He must have seen him, too, in most of the many positions in which he is liable to be placed ; and he must know how he comports himself under these varying circumstances. His mind should be stored and educated rather by Observation than by Instruction. He should not fear a charge of inconsistency—that hobgoblin of little minds. He should possess the high and rare courage that enables him to “speak what he thinks to-day, in words as hard as cannon-balls ; and to-morrow,

what to-morrow thinks, in words as hard, though it contradicted everything he said to-day." He must be capable of standing on his own proper legs. He must be able to assume towards all the shams, cant, sentimentalities, and unvarnished realities of this quack-ridden world, an attitude, offensive and defensive. "He should," as Sir Thomas Browne says, "bring candid eyes unto the perusal of men's works, and let not Zoilism or detraction blast well-intended labours; let well-weighed considerations, not stiff and peremptory assumptions, guide his discourses, pen, and actions; value the judicious, and let not mere aquests in minor parts gain his pre-existimation." He should entertain an enlightened appreciation of the value—nay, the necessity—of a rational routine; and we may conclude our estimate by saying that he should possess that amount of individual force and self-concentration that would enable him to reduce his counsellors to absolute silence, and, in the course of a very short time, make them fulfil their destiny—by ceasing to exist.

To the system or no-system by which promotion has hitherto been regulated, we make no reference, partly because we do not wish to re-open wounds which the Commissioners were under the necessity of deeply probing: partly because we wish to avoid, here as elsewhere, any allusion, by hint or reference, to any individual whatever. The subject is much too important to admit of mere personal considerations being imported into the controversy. As to the future—every one must agree with the Commissioners, that the vague and unknown *lex tradita* which seems to have caused so many heart-burnings, should be, as speedily as possible, exchanged for an intelligible and publicly-declared *lex scripta*. It is quite dreadful to think of the anarchy that might have prevailed, had anything occurred to close the mouth of the present Director-General before Mr Stafford and Mr Herbert gave him an opportunity of publishing the complicated traditions which he inherited from his immediate predecessor. With all the recommendations on this head, we cordially agree. Let promotion from the first rank to the second be by strict seniority; and let subsequent promotion be by selection only. If a medical officer is fit for the duties of an assistant-surgeon, he is fit, after a few years, for the similar, but more extended duties of a surgeon. On the other hand, to reward a good surgeon by putting him in a position in which he almost ceases to be a surgeon at all, is injurious to both the individual and the service. It may be so arranged that it would be rather a compliment than a slur to leave

the surgeon in that position in which he most truly and usefully discharges professional duties ; but, in that ease, there must be such an alteration in the relative pay and status that he would have no reason whatever to regret missing the change. Certainly a good surgeon may make a very bad administrator ; and if our estimate of individual administrative merit is to be derived from gazettes, and despatches, and newspaper correspondents, it may be safely asserted, on the other hand, that a highly-lauded and extensively-decorated administrator may be an exceedingly bad surgeon.

One of the grounds on which an increase of pay is recommended, is that the effect of all the recommendations will be to impose more severe duties and more onerous responsibilities ; but the Commissioners can scarcely be aware of the immense additional labour that must be caused by one of their schemes. At present the surgeon is, most properly, liable to be called on for documents by the superior medical authority, and by the military authorities ; the purveyors give an increasing amount of unnecessary trouble, greater, probably, than would be occasioned if the purveying were in the surgeon's own hands ; but, when there are three new special departments created, with three sectional chiefs, who must show some result for their pay, and who may even be required to produce, each of them, an annual blue-book, the amount of work imposed on the surgeon will be something hitherto undreamt of, and quite appalling. It must be remembered, too, that the peculiar class for which these offices are provided—that class that is born, as Mr Henry Drummond would say, to pull at the teats of the national sow—has a singular knack of making others do its work, of requiring something more than the mere materials of reports from the unfortunates at the bottom of the scale. This brings us to the complaint of an excess of clerical work under the present system, as to which, we would fain hope, that there has been some misapprehension. An accurate record of the facts and phenomena of disease is so necessary, and it affords a mental discipline, so simple and valuable, that we trust the vague objections are not directed against that practice. What officers do object to, under this head, as we understand their objections, is that in the record of every case, no matter what, an amount of quite unnecessary particulars is required to be stated, the very copying of the directions regarding which, as Dr MacLachlan remarked, would occupy a good half hour. They object, too, we presume, to these regulations putting it in the power of inspecting officers to offer

offensive and puerile criticisms on what a surgeon should be left to look on as very much his own private property—a medical journal. Every medical officer whose mind is in a healthy condition, will systematically note, at the time of their occurrence and at the bedside of his patient, the appearances presented by each case; but if a useless and cumbrous form is attempted to be enforced, it will meet with a mere formal compliance. A “man of science,” with pen in hand, calling on a costive imagination to supply him with a mass of facts, each one of which has utterly escaped his memory, is a spectacle by no means exhilarating; and the facts resulting from so dismal an invocation may, without lack of charity, be characterised by Dr Cullen’s famous paradox.

One section of the Report is headed “Relative Rank”—an unfortunate and misleading phrase. In point of fact, a medical officer has no rank, can have no rank, and should not desire to have any rank. “The true glory of the profession,” as Miss Nightingale told the Commissioners, “lies in medical skill and practice.” This phrase only means the grounds of claim for certain material advantages, and it is of consequence that it should be extended as conveying the right to a higher degree of these advantages. It may be deemed expedient to make the proposed increase of pay take the form of increased relative rank, the meaning of the term being strictly limited to the sense we have indicated; but while we object, on the one hand, to the medical officer being degraded into a mere inspector of barrack nuisances, we more strongly object, on the other, to any addition of rank being bestowed with a view to conferring greater power of interference with the course of military administration. At present, even with imperfect regulations, a discreet surgeon is very well able to carry his point, and he will do so all the better if unencumbered with assistance from “medical administration.” Confusion only can be the result if the indiscreet are called on to busy themselves with every small matter to which it may be possible, by a strained interpretation, to give a sanitary complexion.

Having, on a former occasion, discussed the question of Chairs of Military Surgery, we need only say here that our opinion remains unchanged; and that neither in the arguments of the Commissioners, nor in the new shape that, in their hands, the question has been made to assume, do we see anything to induce us to alter it. In time of peace, the Netley Hospital is little likely to supply sufficient means of clinical instruction; and if young surgeons are what they

were when we knew them, now, alas! some years ago, they will be little disposed, after obtaining their diplomas, to pass again into the state of pupilage. In war time, there will be an ample field for instruction, but, unluckily, no pupils, as the urgent demand for officers will render the long noviciate impracticable. The Commissioners show great ability in the art of converting mole-hills into mountains, especially when new functionaries are to be the result. In this instance, the noise and thick smoke with which three new professors at Netley are heralded, are so great that they may be apt to obscure the real fact:—that the special instruction required for an otherwise well-informed young medical officer, is not very extensive;—that a good regiment is the best school, and that the best teacher is a good regimental surgeon.

We have now passed in review nearly all the suggestions in the Report, and having objected to many of them—not in any captious spirit, but with a sincere respect for the good, however mistaken, feeling that has induced the Commissioners to submit them—it is right that we should specify in what manner we would improve on them; having essayed to pull down, we ought to show in what fashion we would build up.

The first and grand want is a well-elaborated code of regulations, and the preparation of this will be no easy task. To speak of one section only, the gentlemen at the War Office have for some time back been so busy with the manufacture of new orders and circulars, that the labour of codifying the War Office Regulations, so many of which bear on hospital matters, will be something like that of cataloguing the library of the British Museum. The regulations should define everything that can be defined. Let there be thorough ventilation. Let the sun's rays and the blessed air of heaven reach the mysteries of the medical department. Let these bracing tonics penetrate even to the inmost recesses of the War Office—"Ignavi domus et penetralia Somni." Utterly abolish the Purveyor's department. Consign it to the Limbo reserved for what is useless and offensive. Let there be published a complete schedule of furniture and utensils for hospitals. Let the barrack-master supply his stores in accordance with the schedule. Let the apothecary supply drugs. Let provisions be furnished, either under commissariat contract, or better, by the surgeon himself. In the first item there is room for increase of expenditure. In the two last, there is much room for greater simplicity and for economy.

Two, at least, of the present diets may be dispensed with. As to drugs, it is absurd that the military surgeon should require for his patients the same "elegant preparations" that a fashionable physician, with great propriety, prescribes for a Countess in Belgravia. Indeed, it is high time for us to change altogether our notions of what a hospital is. We must abandon the idea that disease is a citadel to be assailed with fire, sword, and artillery; that the practice of medicine is a battle, always raging—not without bloodshed. The true and wise physician looks to the cause of disease, before the disease itself. As old Burton says, "Empericks may ease, and sometimes help, but not thoroughly root out: *sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*, as the saying is—if the cause be removed, the effect is likewise vanquished. It is a most difficult thing, I confess, to be able to discern these causes, whence they are, and in such variety, to say what the beginning was. He is happy that can perform it aright! I will adventure to guess as near as I can, and rip them all up, from the first to the last, general and particular, to every species, that so they may be the better descried." We must realise the truth that disease is the objective evidence of a transgression, conscious or unconscious, of the natural laws under which we are appointed to live. A hospital, then, is a place of seclusion for those who have sinned against these laws, in which they are to be provided with the means of safely passing through the period of punishment. Under this idea, the surgeon's *armamentarium* need comprise only some half-dozen simples, and there can be no objection to this being laid down by regulation. We cannot admit that such a regulation would be at all inconsistent with the freedom of judgment that we have demanded. The poor patient would have reason to rejoice, not to complain; and what a load it would take off poor Bull's back!

Against Miss Nightingale's contemptuous opinion of the surgeons who "wish to keep the book-keeping and housekeeping in their own hands," we set the well-advised words of the Queen's Regulations for the army—

"The responsibility for the order, regularity, and cleanliness of the regimental hospital, for the diet and care of the patients, and for the general conduct and economy of the whole establishment, rests entirely with the surgeon."

Miss Nightingale may rest assured that a surgeon who does not know how to make beef tea, or how to scour a floor, or how to fold

a bed, is not worth very much.<sup>1</sup> In a regimental hospital there should be two non-commissioned officers—one the senior, “in charge” of the whole, the surgeon’s clerk, and concerning himself with the receiving, issuing, accounting for and paying for the provisions—the junior, in immediate “charge” of the wards; responsible, at all times, for cleanliness, order, and the necessary amount of care being bestowed on each individual patient. Considering the general nature of the cases, the present allotment of orderlies—we are speaking of regimental hospitals only—is sufficient. Every, the most minute duty, should be “in charge” of some one individual. If, for instance, a door-handle is not cleaned, or a pillow-case changed at the proper time, the surgeon should know at once who is the culprit. The accounts should be kept by the surgeon, and audited by the district commissary, or by a board of officers, before leaving the station.

Proceeding one step from the regimental establishment, we propose that a medical officer be attached to the Staff of every district general officer; let us call him Assistant-Surgeon General. He should be the medico-sanitary adviser of the General, and should assist him in his inspections, especially on all professional points. He should be placed on the Staff, just as other divisional Staff-officers are; and, as in their case, any order emanating from him should be treated as coming from the general officer himself. Any medical officer of sufficient standing should be eligible to hold such a Staff appointment as this for a certain period, at the end of which time he should return to his regimental position, just as other Staff-officers do. One step more, and we reach the Director-General or Surgeon-General, as we would rather call him—the medico-sanitary adviser of the Commander-in-Chief. He should be the head of a principal department at the Horse Guards, and, like the other heads,

<sup>1</sup> One would be puzzled to know Miss Nightingale’s meaning when she says, that “the cleaning and airing of the wards in the morning, would make a house-maid laugh,” if the very next clause did not show that she is applying what she saw at Scutari to the condemnation of quite dissimilar establishments that are scattered all over the empire. As a rule, regimental hospitals are, always excepting lighthouses and military prisons, the cleanest habitations that one can visit; and they may sometimes be found as clean as a dairy or the main-deck of a man-of-war. The best of them are cleaner than the best civil hospitals in England or Scotland, and most of them may be said to be cleaner than any civil hospitals in Ireland, even than those in charge of Sisters of Mercy. But, to effect this, the surgeon must think of something more than science; and he must not mind being called such names—and by a lady, too!—as “a sort of maid-of-all-work.”

should be assisted by his Deputy-Surgeon General, Assistant-Surgeon General, and Deputy Assistant-Surgeon General. Here is a plan that we venture to think combines simplicity with the promise and possibility, at least, of efficiency. It will be observed that we propose, instead of six, four ranks only, or rather three, as one of them need be temporary only, not substantive. One word more. If, with duties defined, and ranks defined, any one of these officers is found to neglect his duty or to pervert the freedom of judgment and the discretion allowed him, in the direction of jobbery, let there be no mistake about the punishment; give him "Jeddart justice;" lead him out to instant execution! After that, the newspapers may say what they please.

This Report has now been before the country for more than three months. It has been a sort of nine days' wonder, and has occasioned, perhaps, a greater amount of frothy, purposeless talk, than usual. What has been *done*? Literally nothing. What is likely to be done? There is a rumour which we cannot credit, but which we mention, as the mere fact of its being in men's mouths goes to confirm some remarks of ours last month. It is reported that one change is only to be made, that all the anomalies and imperfections are to remain untouched, that soldiers are still to gasp for fresh air, and that their rate of mortality is still to be more than twice that of night printers, but that the three Councillors are to be forthwith appointed; and further, that they are to be selected from the gentlemen whose names appear at the foot of the Report. Strange and mournful coincidence! In these days of promotion by merit and competitive examinations, the three right men for these very wrong places, can be found only, out of the thirty million inhabitants of these islands, among those who humbly recommended to her Majesty the institution of the offices! One might have fancied that such an opportunity for the outpouring of speech would not have been lost sight of by the House of Commons. The House contains a pretty strong brigade of old and young soldiers, who do not fail to make themselves heard when anything affecting the immediate interests of their own class is before the public. We may have had some reason to look to them for enlightenment, and for correcting some of the Commissioners' erroneous ideas. A gallant young Guardsman, it is true, attacked the Report, and has achieved a ludicrous defeat from Statistics,—the only enemy that gallant young Guardsmen should never attempt to cope with. Otherwise, the question has only been

rescued from silence, as far as the House of Commons is concerned, by the well-meant but quite abortive efforts of an Oxford Street coachbuilder! The House and the country have been far more intent on the question, whether Foodle or Boodle or Coodle shall sit on the Speaker's right hand; and on the still more engrossing question,—how Boodle and Coodle, who mortally hate each other, can be induced to sit, with apparent concord, on the same bench, and undertake together the governing of us, with the certainty that one will be tripped up by the other in the course of a very few weeks—"Decidedly that course of procedure will no longer serve. Parliament will absolutely, with whatever effort, have to lift itself out of these deep ruts of do-nothing routine: and learn to say, on all sides, something more edifying than *Laissez faire*. If Parliament cannot learn it, what is to become of Parliament?"

\* \* Since the above was written, there has been a desultory conversation on the subject in the House of Commons, and Lord Ebrington has committed the House to the opinion, "that the long continued excessive mortality of the army has been mainly caused by the bad sanitary condition of barrack accommodation." This is a short step, but still a step, in the right direction. Will some honourable member, of a practical turn of mind, now propose that, "to save life, each soldier be provided with a cubic space of not less than 600 feet?" How much the House still misses the real point of the controversy is well shown by the fact, that the late Under Secretary for War was actually permitted to boast, that in the three years, 1855, 1856, 1857, the enormous sum of L.1,500,000 was spent in the enlargement and repair of barracks at home. The attempt to fix responsibility for past errors on individuals was earnestly decried, and properly so, if the attempt is made with the mere object of bandying personal accusations. But it is very certain that, if our only remedy is to consist in a still more lavish expenditure of money, and if we do not inaugurate a new system by which it is to be expended, we shall, after a few years, have added enormously to the national burdens, and still have Dr Farr's terrible statistics repeated to us over again. It is a pity that Mr Herbert, holding such a brief as these statistics placed in his hand, was content to speak in so low a tone. Indeed, Miss Nightingale is the only person who seems disposed to apply the good word THOROUGH in the matter, and seeing that, we may be permitted to regret that she is prevented from taking a more direct share in the correction of abuses that she knows so well how to describe, by what Mrs Hominy calls "the conventionalities of that a-mazing Europe."

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#### THE WARRANT OF 1ST OCTOBER 1858.

(From the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, December 1858.)

WE congratulate the profession generally, and that section of it which is the Army Medical Department, on the publication, after so many delays and frequent disappointments, of the recent Royal Warrant.

For three long years, everything connected with the health of the soldier, and the present machinery of administration by which that is affected or cared for, has been made the subject of investigation and report. From a hospital for a thousand beds down to the materials for shirts, from a new Nosology that is to banish Cullen down to the fashion of a saucepan, nothing has been too great, nothing has been too small to escape research. Even now, Commissioners are painfully rushing about the country, visiting every barrack;—to see what? Nothing that they could not have learnt all about if they had stayed in London. They see the same barracks, the same latrines, the same wash-houses, all built and fitted on the same uniform bad plan, every one exactly like the other. Doubtless, they make copious notes; but when a remedy comes to be applied, it cannot be the Commissioners' note-books that will be referred to, but the plans and elevations that were resting in pigeon-holes at Whitehall, long before the Commissioners were ever dreamt of. When the first Blue-books appeared on these subjects, we endeavoured to keep our readers informed of the progress of the inquiry; but Commission has followed Commission with such surprising rapidity, that no mere monthly journal can attempt to keep pace. In one instance, a Commission has been appointed to report on a Commission, and then was seen a manœuvre such as sometimes strikes the public with wonder on a field day. When a body of troops is engaged with some imaginary enemy, the singular phenomenon of two friendly battalions chancing to find themselves in front of each other, and then firing straight into each other, sometimes astonishes the uninitiated spectator. A similar manœuvre seems to have been performed by the Netley Hospital Commissions, excepting in so far as it is not always BLANK cartridge that "Science" employs in its contests. We have not cared to discuss that controversy. The Netley Hospital, improperly situated, planned on erroneous principles, ill adapted for the purposes it is required to serve, costing vast sums of money, will supply a want not thought of by the minute inquirers who have been reporting on it. It is well that an Englishman, on leaving or returning to his country, should be reminded, with all the emphasis supplied by so solid a monument, of the mad year 1855.

The first most gratifying feeling that the appearance of this Warrant occasions is this;—that out of all the mass of talking and reporting, there has come one real, palpable, articulate fact. Some—

thing has at last taken shape and been done: and we may augur from that that greater and more pressing wants will be ere long supplied. We would gladly have seen some other matters have precedence. The most clamant demand proved by the Commissions is for increased living-space; but that question has, as yet, got no further than is expressed by the publication of the Secretary for War's "approval of the principle" that a soldier should have double his present allowance of air, and an order that existing accommodation shall be, as far as possible, appropriated in conformity with that principle. The present barracks are now so fully occupied that the order can be hardly more than a dead letter. Some months ago, the House of Commons declared, by resolution, that "the long-continued excessive mortality in the Army has been mainly caused by the bad condition of barrack accommodation." If this opinion is correct,—and no one has yet, with anything like success, attempted to gainsay it,—it is for the House of Commons to enable the Minister to carry out its resolution. As long as the present unfortunate mode of construction is persevered in, the expense must be very heavy; but money devoted to the saving of life is always well laid out.

From causes which need not be specified, which, indeed, it would not be very easy to specify, there has been, within late few years, an altered proportion between the demand and supply of medical men for all positions. The large demand caused by the Eastern War, and again by the great Indian Trouble, brought into greater prominence, but did not create, the disproportion. When an urgent call is insufficiently met, there is apt to be a further inconvenience;—the article offered in the market, and of necessity taken, may be of inferior quality. The improved condition now accorded to the medical department is not merely an affirmative answer to the "indignation meetings" in the Crimea and at Dublin, or to the movement of the different medical corporations, much as the latter may have helped to bring it about. The object is not merely to advance those already in the service, and dependent on it. We must look on the Warrant as a means by which it is hoped to procure a full supply of well qualified men for the future. A similar attempt was made on a small, and what may be called a huckstering principle, just twelve months ago, and failed as it deserved to do. The attempt is now made on a broader, more comprehensive, and more statesmanlike principle, and we heartily wish it success.

We propose, by the new light of this Warrant, to make a few remarks explanatory of the position in which the young surgeon who is induced to enter her Majesty's service may expect to find himself placed,—the advantages that are held out,—the inconveniences that must be anticipated. To do so is not to put the ribbons in our cap, and play the part of Sergeant Kite, but it is strictly in the line of our vocation as medical journalists. There must be many of our readers who are just now hesitating and embarrassed as to their future path. Not many weeks ago, the attainment of the students' goal may have seemed to them the final realisation of all that they could wish. But it only marked a particular stage of the journey. They have taken the *sacramentum*; they have buckled on their knapsacks, and have had arms put into their hands. The question for them now is ;—Whither? What is to be their line of march?—Should any of them have turned their eyes in the direction of which we have been speaking, we shall endeavour, at least, to help them to an answer.

In certain religious orders, the Novice takes the three vows of Obedience, Celibacy, and Poverty. In the case of the medical officer,—in the case of every officer who rightly apprehends the requirements of his commission,—these vows, dictated by no priest or Grand Master, witnessed by no pageant of a day, are imposed by the far higher authority of Necessity, and the investiture is prolonged through a life-time. Obedience, subordination, is a very good thing in its way, a wholesome mental discipline, and, sometimes, one can scarcely have too much of it. Outside the sacred precincts of the Family Life, he must be content to stand, as "the Peri at the gate of Eden stood,—disconsolate," comforting himself for his unfulfilled life with such scraps of comfort as can be picked up on his flinty path, uncheered by companionship, but along which he must always carry himself manfully and bravely. It is to the Poverty part of the question that the Warrant chiefly addresses itself.

The army medical service has always held out certain advantages to those who either lack the means of entering themselves for the race to distinction and competence in civil life, or who are content to resign their chance of attaining these for the sake of a comparatively independent life. In no section of the profession is the race to the swift or the battle to the strong, neither are riches to the man of understanding; and many have, at all times, been induced to prefer a career which gives them a decent maintenance, a respect-

able social position, and large opportunities of addressing themselves to other pursuits. The army has, at least, enabled them to see the world, to wear broadcloth, to provide themselves with a clean shirt and to fare sumptuously, if so inclined, every day. What more can a man want?—When he can “live like a gentleman,” and pay his debts like an honest man, he is in a position, as far as externals go, than which many are more unpleasant. This Warrant gives a certain increase of pay to nearly all periods of service. The Assistant Surgeon, beginning at 10s., rises to 11s. 6d., and eventually to 13s. recently the rate of Surgeon’s pay. The Surgeon, beginning at 15s., rises to 18s., 22s., and eventually to 25s. The two higher grades are paid in like proportion. Considering that this is a fixed stipend, only to be lost through gross misconduct, and considering the nature and extent of the claims on one’s purse in the army, these figures represent a really respectable income. The rates of half-pay are increased in like proportion. As the Warrant has been so frequently published, we need not again specify them beyond stating this note-worthy fact;—that a medical officer who is deemed unfit for further service at forty-six years of age,—and there are few who cannot prove a disability at that age,—is, for the future, to receive half-pay for the rest of his life, without chance of being recalled, at the rate of 18s. 6d. per diem. How many of the most eminent physicians and surgeons could retire at that age, with an annual income of L.338, secured on the public credit of the country? This is, we fancy, the greatest pecuniary boon offered by the Warrant. There is an increase of the other rates, but we need not specify them.

We gather from the second clause that there are to be two preliminary examinations: one, the first or entrance examination, competitive; and the other “in military medicine, surgery, and hygiene, after attending the authorised course at a general military hospital.” When the number of vacant commissions exceeded the number of candidates, as was the case when competitive examinations were first instituted, these were simply ridiculous, very fit to be boasted of before Section F of the British Association by that redoubtable whole-hog champion, Mr Edwin Chadwick, but not certainly touching on any point of principle. When, however, the conditions are reversed, as there is every reason to hope that they will be under the Warrant, it becomes a matter of some consequence to consider how far this new system is likely to benefit the service. If the man best fitted to perform the duties of a military surgeon is that one who is

best fitted to answer a series of questions, then there is nothing more to be said, and it will only be necessary for all the schools to establish—and avow the establishment of—a mill by whose grinding the service is to be supplied with “officers and gentlemen” so curiously qualified. If, on the other hand, there are important qualities that go to the making of a good officer, which no mill or other piece of inanimate mechanism can ever produce; if these qualities even transcend, in their importance, the technical knowledge to which we have alluded, it may be worth while to consider that there were not a few advantages in the old nomination system. We can quite understand why the head of a department should prefer a system which removes all responsibility from off his own shoulders, and, as we have on a former occasion remarked, such a system is in accordance with our present administrative tendencies; but we are old-fashioned enough to think that office is nothing without responsibility, and that he is the best and bravest official who boldly faces and assumes responsibility.

It seems likely, from this same second clause, that the three professorial endowments will be transferred to Netley, and bestowed on teachers of military medicine, of military surgery—whatever these may be—and hygiene. May we hope to see another faculty added,—one much needed in these latter days,—a Professor of Common Sense?

“Assistant Surgeons shall, as a general rule, be promoted to the rank of Surgeon in the order of their seniority.”—Good. “In case of distinguished service, however, an Assistant Surgeon may be promoted without reference to seniority.” There seems to be some little explanation needed here—Is the distinguished service to be that of a trooper or of a surgeon?—The reward ought surely to take different directions according to the character of the service. “All promotion from the rank of Surgeon to that of Deputy Inspector . . . shall be given by selection for ability and merit.” About this we have a word or two to say.

This subject of the disposal of promotion has, within a short period, gone through three very distinct phases, and the medical department has exhibited these as much, perhaps more, than others. First, patronage, as it was called, was looked on as private and personal property, to be conferred according to the humour or mere motion of the individual in whose hands it was placed. This was very intelligible. Then came a period which was by no means intelligible,

when, public opinion having demanded certain guarantees, it was necessary to profess the influence of merit, while the old system was still acted on and, with the whole heart, believed in. Nothing could be easier than to substitute the word "merit" for the old word "interest." After that, we approach what may be termed the present epoch, when "merit" is the word of force. The future and higher development will consist in asserting that *fitness* for the office should be the sole ground of claiming it. When merit is the password, we imply that the service exists for the good of the individual; when fitness is the phrase, it is implied that the individual is there for the good of the service. A foreshadowing of that state of opinion we are glad to think that we recognise in the word "ability." But even then, in this relation, a great difficulty presents itself. Let us sketch two surgeons, the types, doubtless, of numerous classes. One, with a fair amount of knowledge and intelligence, quietly, systematically, and after a certain fixed method, does his duty. He shows his zeal by doing, not by speaking,—by quite silent, practical endeavour, not by obtrusively displaying it. He governs that microcosm of his, the regimental hospital, wisely, temperately, efficiently. No consideration has power to make him deviate, by a hair's-breadth, from the strict line of duty. He is, in the highest sense of the word, a meritorious officer, but he has never had the opportunity of showing capability for administration. He deserves promotion, but the service may suffer by his being promoted. Besides, the very calm and order of his proceedings have prevented his merit from becoming known. On the other hand, we may imagine one who, whether a good or bad surgeon, has certain administrative qualities. He knows the rules of the service, and he acts up to them. He possesses tact, courage, discrimination, is well-informed in medical generalizations, and can apply them on a large scale. Above all, he is able to express his ideas on half-margin foolscap, and is skilful in the manipulation of red tape. He is just the man to put into the administrative ranks; but, if a bad surgeon, why should he be promoted? and, whether a good or a bad surgeon, how are his qualifications to be discovered? Just as there is indubitably existing on the earth, *the* most Foolish man, whom Mr Carlyle once expressed such anxiety to see, so there is, with equal certainty, extant somewhere, *the* most fit and able man. How strange, good Reader! you may have sat in the same room, conversed face to face, with him, and yet that discernment on which you pique your-

self so much may have failed to authenticate him ! If authenticated, how out of all proportion would be the allotment of the post of an Inspector of Hospitals ! Should we not rather make him Minister of Justice, Captain of Industry, General of the Sanitary Army, or Governor of British Columbia ? However that may be, this clause explicitly directs that he shall be searched for, and, irrespective of all other considerations, forthwith invested. The author of *Friends in Council*, in one of his charming essays, speaking of negro slavery, and the paternal government principle on which it is sometimes defended, says that, having known many of the best and wisest men of his day, he has not met six whom he would entrust with the sole dominion over a fellow-man ; and the remark applies closely to the vast, scarcely assailable power that has, in this instance, been allotted to one man. On the whole, it must be said, that in proposing or accepting this clause, the Director-General has undertaken a task and a responsibility, greater perhaps than that of any other man in England ; but, in strict accordance with sentiments that have been more than once declared in this Journal, we must express our respect for him for doing so, and wish him all the discretion, temper, and judgment that are required for so awful an undertaking. Certain it is that this clause, however administered, must cause many heart-burnings, and perhaps, the better and more honestly it is administered, the more numerous will be the heart-burnings. One effect of it will be to place the Director-General in the midst of solicitations and pretensions that may well turn the head of any man. The best way for the surgeon to consider it will be to make up his mind that he will never achieve promotion, but, at the same time, to do more,—deserve it. To deserve it has not always been to obtain it. Lord Palmerston once asked, in his scoffing way, what is merit ? and no answer seems yet to have been discovered. It may be difficult to define the phrase in set terms, but the greatest difficulty is to find a person with a Seeing Eye capable of ascertaining it. To speak of “ ability and merit,” and then to find them only existing along with the faculty of drawing the Queen’s pay for a longer period than your neighbours,—and, after a certain experience, that is just what seniority means,—would be to look through a pair of rejected and much discredited spectacles ; and, to act on such a dim sort of vision, would be to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the sense. We have no reason to assume that such will be done.

After the silly outcry raised against the medical officers of the army, three years ago, had somewhat subsided, and the light of a little reason had been let in on the matter, it began to be thought that it might be of advantage to the service if the class most competent by instruction and general mode of thought for the task, were authorised to interfere directly in sanitary arrangements. The question was,—Is it possible to give power of direct interference and control to a class of men whose function is altogether distinct from the channel of authority, without great risk of impairing unity of action and destroying the required co-ordination of duties? This was one of the questions which current thought presented to Mr Herbert's Commission. The problem is a very difficult one, and we do not pretend to be able to say how it could be solved. But it is to solve questions, difficult to other men, that Royal Commissions are, we apprehend, appointed. The Commissioners have scarcely answered it. They have contented themselves with recommending that surgeons shall always submit, in writing, to commanding officers, sanitary suggestions,—a process that has been going on, time out of mind, with what results we can see; while some of the Commissioners, at least, must have known full well that, with sanitary matters, officers commanding corps have, of all men, scarcely anything to do. It rests with certain civil or quasi-military departments. The Commissioners further recommend an elaborate system of sanitary instruction at Netley. Such a scheme is in sympathy with the general tone of their recommendations, which is much towards complication, but it is certainly opposed to the present views of the best informed teachers, which make instruction by lectures very secondary to other methods; and, curious enough, almost the only point on which the various Commissions and Committees seem to be agreed, is that the Royal Victoria Hospital will be quite unadapted for a system of teaching. It is now vaguely rumoured that medical officers are to have much more direct power of interference. Heaven grant them grace and judgment to use the power with discretion!

In a regiment, and in an army which is an aggregate of regiments, certain functions group themselves around a central one, and it is by the harmonious action of each that efficiency is attained. The business of the military officer is to drill the soldier and to make him most skilful in fighting. The business of the surgeon,—of the other adjutant functions we need not speak,—is to keep the soldier's

body, the perishable outer garment in which, for a brief season, he walks about the world, in the best possible state of repair. The degree of resultant good that is obtained by the effective co-operation of all the functions is an exact measure of the confusion and loss of effect that must ensue from jarring or isolation. Peace, good feeling, and brotherhood, are such blessed means to a good end, that to further them it may be sometimes expedient even to sacrifice one's vanity. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the surgeon exerts for weal or woe, according as he accepts his true signification and acts up to it, or the reverse. His personal dignity, or what he may consider his personal dignity, is a very secondary matter indeed. He is a small link in a great chain, and, as regards his duty, the individual must be forgotten for the sake of the whole. If his first thought, on any new occurrence, is to consider how, in his own way and with reference to the occurrence, her Majesty's service can be best promoted, it may be safely predicated of him that, after the measure of his gifts, he is a just and faithful steward. If his first thought is to reflect how his personal consideration or dignity is affected, he may be able to gain the applause of the unthinking, and he may feed a vulgar, petty vanity, but he so far shows that he has mistaken his vocation, and is a traitor to his commission. There must be many occasions on which a calm, unjealous temper, and one which makes allowance for the defects of others, will save him from much mortification. When we say that medical men have the character of being arrogant, opinionative, dogmatic on shallow grounds, that they are often distrusted, we say what may be unpalatable to the reader, but what has been asserted over and over again by philosophers and far-seers in all ages. "My aversion to medicine," says Montaigne, "is hereditary, like my disease. They say that a new-comer, named Paracelsus, changes and overthrows all the order of the ancient rules of medicine, and maintains that, up to this time, it has only served to kill men. I think he will be easily able to prove this; but as to putting my life in his hands, I don't think it would be a mark of wisdom." "In general," says Niebuhr, "I do not like medical men. They form the most arrogant and unprincipled of all classes, next to the nobles, and rival the priests and the political economists. And no wonder, for they too must have a consciousness of internal untruthfulness from the contrast between their pretensions and what they really are, and they try to conceal this from

themselves by self-conceit. And, just as it is very difficult for a statesman not to be corrupted by degrees, unless he is a thoroughly upright man, because the contemplation of the blunders that he cannot help making is all too painful, so the same takes place with the physician, who, besides, depends more than the statesman on reputation, and cannot, like him, gloss over his mistakes." If such are the feelings or the prejudices of men of culture and observation, how much greater must be the antipathy of those who perhaps think from the impulse of a narrow education, and all whose sympathies are with an order of mind to which that of the greatest physician or surgeon is antagonistic in the very ratio of its greatness! The mere military mind, which is one to which preliminary instruction is comparatively unnecessary, is offended by anything that breaks uniformity or detracts from a certain regular proportion. It turns away from that which mars completeness. What wonder, then, if sick soldiers are apt to be looked on, quite unconsciously, as an encumbrance? what wonder if a disposition is manifested to thrust them out of sight? And it is very natural that the surgeon should be placed in the same category with his patients; and should be apt to be slighted, except, perhaps, when some personal necessity calls for his aid. All this the man of highest culture will see most clearly, and will tolerate with the greatest indifference. There is one important practical fact which these and similar considerations bring to his mind;—that he is often the soldier's best friend, and sometimes, it may be, his only friend. In view of so much personal kindness and consideration that we see every day; remembering many active philanthropic efforts; speaking, in fact, of a body of English gentlemen, it would be worse than childish to say that the military officer treats the soldier with harshness or indifference. What we say is, that the necessities of discipline and position may make it imperative on him to put aside the dictates of kind-heartedness, and to forget the man in addressing himself to the soldier. The more he realises his function, the more he may feel compelled to do this. The surgeon, on the other hand, is not a soldier; and no names, or titles, or regulations can ever make him a soldier. The more he appreciates soldier-like sentiments and modes of thought, the better and more effectually will he act his part; but, in essence, his position is that of one who is not a soldier, but, at the same time, imbued with soldier-like notions, influencing those who are soldiers, and exercising that influence in the discharge of an art

which, more than most others, appeals to the heart and the better part of our nature. His is a superior intelligence, and a superior social position, addressing themselves to an inferior grade, and to an intelligence which, if not always inferior, is, at least, less instructed and also imperfectly educated. The soldier does not see the surgeon in the character of either a prosecutor, or a juryman, or a judge. He meets him only when offering and acting kindness. When one has seen much of the British soldier, especially under eirennstances that call out the graces and touches of sympathy that make all akin,—when he sees what a precious jewel there may be lying under a rough, dust-begrimed exterior,—when he sees, in one word, what good, cheerful, willing, hearty fellows our soldiers are or may be induced to become—how uncomplaining in misfortune, how tender to an unlucky comrade, how self-sacrificing in a common disaster; and when he carries his mind back, and thinks what a bringing or dragging up these men have had, where they have come from;—when he reflects whither they are going; how many a harsh word, provoking to wrath, they are exposed to; how often a piece of most fair paper has been blurred and blotted by human handwriting, he may be pardoned for thinking that there is some substance, some fibre of truth, in the dreams of the optimist. In the most debased mind, under the rudest covering of earth, there may be found a vein of pure metal which, let the right talisman be only used, we cannot be long to discover. Let a delicate hand strike the true chord, and melodious music will be given forth in answer. Rub off the defacements inprinted by baneful circumstance, and the palimpsest will reveal the fair characters written by the finger of the All-Good.<sup>1</sup> Something has been discovered which seems to have been little known to those who commanded at Blenheim, Fontenoy, and

<sup>1</sup> We sometimes hear most wonderful stories about soldiers. For instance, Mr Rawlinson, C.E., said at Liverpool, the other day: "He had heard these fellows, in their drunken brawls, adding fresh horrors to the already terrible horrors of wounds, disease, and war." And, again, "when he had the misfortune to be wounded, the orderly told off to attend him was seized with cholera, and the poor fellow lay down beside the bed, screaming and dying, no one coming near either of them for more than three hours." Here was a dainty dish to set before the assembled Sociologists! When is the world to hear the last of Mr Rawlinson's "wound?" It was sung in Mr Russell's Epic; it was paraded, with great pathos, before the Sanitary Commissioners:—

"Look, sirs! my wounds;  
I got them in my country's service."—

And now it appears as a pendent to Miss Nightingale's paper on "Hospital Construction," in asking for the publication of which we are happy to associate

Minden;—that a soldier has a soul as well as a body. Into the many improvements that have been made since that notable discovery, and in consequence of it, this is not the place to enter. All that we have to do is to indicate the attitude towards the spiritual part which the surgeon should assume. He may depend upon it, that the more tenderly he treats his patients—the more he surrounds them, when in hospital, with kindnesses, and with what are known and sometimes decried by short-sighted people under the name of “comforts,” the better, more manageable, more efficient a soldier is the man likely to be when he leaves hospital. And to accomplish that is the one object of the whole vast system of military administration.

The surgeon must make himself acquainted with all orders and regulations which bear on his duties—a most difficult labour, and a most chaotic mass. Having mastered these, having dug out of all the mysteries and hidden nooks of all the departments the necessary knowledge, he must use it to gain for his patients all the comforts and appliances to which they are entitled. At this point his labour is very apt to resemble that of Sisyphus. He rolls the heavy stone up a difficult ascent, and then the mere *vis inertia*, the dead weight of the departments, rolls it back again. He must not, however, abandon his task, but valiantly push on. There is victory at the summit. After the revelations of the Weedon Commission, the public may not be surprised to be told that there may be delay and difficulty before stores are issued. There may be much knocking at the door necessary, before a cup, or some more ignoble utensil, can be got from the gentlemen on high stools, through whose hands these things pass; but the cup or the utensil, once procured, may be priceless treasures to many a stricken sufferer.

In respect of direction and practical thought, there are two very distinct lines which it may be well to specify. There are many shades between them, but they are really antagonistic, and can ourselves with the Sociologists. When Thomson's *Sophonisba* was first played, where the line occurred—

“My wound is great because it is so small;”—

a wag in the gallery completed the couplet thus:—

“And 'twould be greater, were it none at all.”

As to soldier orderlies, this writer may perhaps claim to know as much about them as Mr Rawlinson, and he is bound to say that he has found them as tender, if not so skilful, as a sister of charity,—much more so than the hired nurses of civil hospitals.

never sympathise. In one, it is assumed, as far as there is any conscious reflection, to be an ultimate law of nature that there shall be a certain per-centage of sickness. To combat that, recourse is had to routine and obsolete means. When the per-centage is exceeded, the subject is represented or talked about in the smoothest and mildest manner; great respect is paid to jealousies and prejudices; Grammar is not made much account of; Logic is the only authority that is utterly set at defiance. This, with a good deal of "chin-chinning," may represent a well-marked class. On the other hand, the individual may stand firmly on the foundation of truth, and bow the knee before no altar but that of progress. He inquires eagerly, and, having once found the solid basis of reality, having once elaborated or found elaborated for him a logical result, he goes straight to his mark, heedless of the inconveniences and the consternation that he may scatter around him. Above all, the idea to which he tends, that to accomplish which he strives, is, that there shall be no sickness at all. When sickness does come, he addresses himself to it with reason and discretion, gathering up for the task all the aids which progressive knowledge and observation offer for his use. The first class is, let us hope, becoming more and more antiquated, and the operation of the admirable eleventh clause of the Warrant seems likely to make serious inroads on the number of its professors. It is under the other banner that we hope to see those to whom we speak enlisted. Towards one or other they must certainly tend. They cannot serve in both camps. The one army has gained nothing but by numbers, by ponderous habituality and mere indolence of intellect. The other is full of fire and youthful vigour, willing to suffer loss and disappointment, as good soldiers should be, for the sake of ultimate victory, which is prophesied by the whole heart. And, when speaking of this higher developement of thought and action, it would, in this place, on this subject, before this audience, be wrong not to acknowledge the impulse that has been given to it,—by no learned pundit, by no pedant prating about science,—but by the altogether silent, practical efforts—thought articulately expressed in deeds—of an English Lady.

Foolish persons sometimes say that medical practitioners in the public service are, in their social relations, and in the personal demeanour exhibited towards them, apt to be placed on a lower level than their personal claims, apart from their profession, entitle them to, and that this is owing to their profession. He who says

so is self-condemned. It is for every man to set his own rate. "It is a maxim worthy of all acceptance, that a man may have that allowance he takes. Take the place and attitude which belong to you, and all men acquiesce. The world must be just. It leaves every man, with profound unconcern, to set his own rate. Hero or driveller, it meddles not in the matter." There cannot be a greater or more mischievous mistake, than to suppose that an army practitioner who adheres to the plain line of his own calling will, speaking generally, meet with anything but support and encouragement from his military superiors. Standing, as we seem to do, between a bad system and the promise of a better one, with this document under the Sign Manual to define the boundary, we wish to say as little as possible of the past; but if that were the only means of predicting future conditions, we would say to the future medical officers that it is not by military authorities that their efforts will be derided, that their honest zeal will be scoffed at, that their office will be degraded, or that their personal conveniences will be hindered.

"Surgeons, after twenty years full-pay service, shall be styled Surgeons Major."—The intention of this clause is very evident, and it is not to be cavilled at; but the phrase seems to be an incongruous and an unhappy one, an expression, under one term, of two very distinct ideas. We can fancy some of the surgeons whom we have attempted to sketch, saying,—“Major me no Majors. I prefer to be known by the title which I bear in common with Pereival Pott and John Hunter, Cline and Cheselden. Staff-Surgeon John Hunter was an illustrious brother of the craft, and his memory is precious. What increase of honour or of worth could he have derived from this mechanical sticking on of the gandy plumage of others?” As we have said, however, the title has been offered with the best intentions, and must be accepted for the sake of these intentions. The same must be said, but in a far more emphatic and more extended sense, of the very remarkable sixteenth and seventeenth clauses,—the most revolutionary parts of the whole Warrant. We believe, thoroughly and entirely, that a man's influence should depend on and spring from his own independent native force, that the eternal laws of mind adjust the relations of all persons to each other by the mathematical measure of their havings and beings; we think that the place of a surgeon is one that should not be confounded with any other, that—

“As the Prince

Of Poets, Homer, sung long since,  
A skilful leech is better far  
Than half a hundred men of war.”

Yet, the world being still governed by names and the mere shows of things, these two clauses offer an immense boon. They mark, more than any other part, a distinct leap that has been made towards a greater incorporation with the military system. We are likely to be understood when we add, that they are an evidence of a great concession that has been made by military traditions,—a concession which, we may be very sure, would not have been made without the compulsion of an urgent necessity and a strong sense of duty. It remains for the medical officers to show their appreciation of this concession. Higher rank, with all its “privileges and precedences,” has not been bestowed on them, they may be very certain, merely that they may strut about the world with stars on their collars and brass on their heels. It implies higher duties and heavier responsibilities. A greater number of talents has been committed to their charge, and for the use made of them, they will have to answer in some court or another.

Two omissions we may mark as much to be regretted. An earlier attainment of the relative rank of captain for the junior grade would have cost the country nothing, and would have placed assistant surgeons on a better footing of equality with those of their own age, while it may have added to their wholesome influence among the isolated duties which are so frequently allotted to them. The other desideratum is earlier permissive retirements. This has been long and loudly asked for. As Dr Smith shrewdly remarked,<sup>1</sup> it would be so little taken advantage of that the public purse would suffer very little, if at all; but it would be something to know that, after a few years' service, you could retire to private practice, if you pleased, with some stipend, however small. Many enter the service with the full resolution of only remaining in it for a few years, and these are often the best men in it. If assured of a certain early retirement, more might be induced to enter. Ultimately they would, in all probability, remain; but the permission would save much grumbling. The Warrant is a good Warrant; and the more we look at it, the more we like it. These two additions would, perhaps, make it perfect. Alas! alas! “On the churchyard of the whole world,” as

<sup>1</sup> Report—House of Commons Committee. Appendix IV.

Richter finely says, "should be placed this universal epitaph ;—Here lie the beings who never knew when to be content."

Of administration, so called, and how it is affected by the Warrant, we have not much to say here, tempting as the subject may be. It is odd that the word, so singularly applied, and on which so many changes have been wrung, does not once occur in the whole document. Matters are not yet, perhaps, quite ripe for the abolition of all impediments, but with the blow which has relegated certain officers to the practice of their profession, we can express entire sympathy. The extinction of one of the administrative grades is an unmixed good, and a topic of unalloyed congratulation. We may look for increased efficiency and greater directness of action from the removal of an embarrassing obstruction, the breaking down of one of the walls of hindrance which circumlocution had reared. There is another vexatious Institution which may, with much advantage to the service and much consequent ease to the machinery of administration, be made to follow the late junior administrative grade to the place to which Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to consign it. If the line of simplicity indicated by the Warrant is followed much further, it cannot be long before the Purveyor's Department, too, will, with the First Class Staff Surgeons, be—swept into the dust-bin. One of the inconveniences of administration seems likely to be considerably abated. In Mr Sidney Herbert's Report, after inveighing, in terms of well-merited scorn, against those who import the manners of a sergeant-major into the delicate relations of medical practice, he concludes with a touch of sarcasm that shows the hand of a master. "We have made these remarks in the belief that they will strengthen the hands of the Director-General in checking" "such departures from propriety," "when they do occur." Should the summary process of elimination, necessitated by the Warrant, leave, in a state of activity, any administrators who are disposed to attempt the continuance of a vile, demoralising, soul-destroying system, it may be well for them to be reminded that the Director-General who is now the ultimate judge of appeal is one whose whole career has been a practical protest against what is condemned in the Report, and in favour of individual independence of thought and action, and whose singular success proves, if it proves anything, that subservience to superiors and insolence to inferiors, worrying the pigeons and letting the crows go free, are not, in every case, the passports to departmental eminence.

The Medical Act of last session conferred on the profession at large a means and capability of self-elevation, by providing definite means of cohesion and by furnishing a common starting point. The Scotch University Act of last session drew closer the bond of sympathy between our graduates and their Alma Mater. We read this Warrant very badly if it does not express a solemn and authoritative affirmation, on the part of the public, that those sections of the profession which are in the service of the public, should be placed on a much higher pedestal than had been before conceded to them. It is impossible that the march of progress can be arrested at this, the first stage of the journey. The medical service of the Navy, for instance, to which, both in days gone by and in the present, the country is under so great obligations, must participate in the general elevation; and we cannot doubt that the present so enlightened First Lord of the Admiralty, who stands out so prominently for a quick apprehension of liberal views, and who has already done so much good in his department, will rightly apprehend the requirements of the branch of the profession now under his care. In the Queen's local army of India, again, the medical officers have long complained of an anomalous position, made doubly irksome when all society is coloured and, in its most intimate relations, affected by a military tone. Here too, fortunately, the question falls to be considered by a liberal and enlightened statesman, and a remedy cannot fail to be speedily applied.

We counsel those whom we are addressing to exercise themselves in the use of the pen. There is the authority of Lord Bacon for saying that writing makes an "exact man." With a dread of pen and ink, there go a loose manner of expression and a loose habit of thought. Writing, no matter what about, if only the bedside report of a trifling case, calls up, in however slight a degree, the faculties of arrangement, expression, and description, and a greater precision of thought must be the result. Once upon a time, there was a great Bogey whose eye, to the fearful and distempered imaginations of his victims, pervaded everywhere, and seemed to arrest all independent efforts. To be known for a habit of disfiguring paper with ink was to be looked on as dangerous, and to be avoided; and the natural consequence was, that, when some very small literary effort was absolutely required, the result was very likely to justify Sir William Hamilton's reproach about our being all *Doctores indocti*. Luckily, the Bogey has been exorcised, has vanished back to

Chaos and Old Night, and the atmosphere has been much clearer ever since. There is another consideration that may be mentioned here. Formerly, it used to be said that while the life of the military officer was one of utter idleness and vacuity, that of the medical officer was one of work, and hard work. Whatever truth there may have been in this, it certainly does not hold good now. Excepting on extraordinary occasions, it must be very seldom that the medical officer has not twenty-one of the twenty-four hours at his own absolute disposal. During that time all space is open to him, to ramble whithersoever he pleases. It is an advantage above all price, open to very few other working men. On the other hand, the whole condition of the military officer, in every respect, has been so changed, that he must become a laborious student if he wishes to attain the goal which his father thought was to be reached by hard fighting only. Just as, at a pantomime, we see a pig put into one end of a machine and sausages and scrubbing brushes produced at the other, so we seem to be coming, more and more, to the opinion, that a true General can be produced by a life-long process of mechanism which is to begin at Burlington House. It is not to every generation that Heaven vouchsafes a General, and it used to be thought that for any such rich and rare gift we should reverently wait; but, now-a-days, it is by drill all day and study all night,—Lloyd, Jomini, and the Archduke Charles, on the one hand,—an intimate knowledge of the rivers in Kamschatka and the æconomical productions of Mesopotamia, on the other,—by multiplying examiners and inspectors, and adding to the mighty torrent of Cant, that we hope to produce men like Maurice of Saxony, who could not spell his own name, and who when *La Cademie*, as he called it, offered him the high honour of its membership, declined in one line, every word of which was mis-spelt,—like Marlborough, who, in the literary line, could not do much more, although he could write pretty sharp letters to poor Queen Anne when his pay was in question,—like Wellington, whose Oxford oration was written for him by Sir Henry Halford, and who said that Waterloo was won by a public school training which is not the training of pedants,—like Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, who, scholar as he was, was more of a man about town, and whose greatest accomplishment, apart from his campaigning wonders, was that of love-making, which is the lightest of all,—and like Robert Clive, the truant schoolboy, who, ignorant of all that schools can teach, was shipped

off to aet the glories of Areot and Plassy, and to found the Indian Empire. When muscle is so much subordinated to brain, may there not be a fear of our future Generals, the gallant boys from Eton and Harrow, becoming what the competitive examination doetors give them so good an example of—Prigs? And, as that very remarkable captain of infantry, Sir John Falstaff, says, “There’s never any of these demure boys eome to any proof; for thin drink doth so over-cool their blood, and making many fish meals; that they fall into a kind of male green-siekness; and then, when they marry, they get wenches.” But we are wandering from our text.

We have enumerated several points of improvement which those who now enter the service may expect to find. There is one more, and it is a very important one. Onee, a long time ago, it used to be said that there was only one public office in all London in which rndeness was the rule, and a deference to the eommon courtesies of life was a marked and rare exception; and that was an office in which was transacted the business of a department which consists entirely of officers, and relating to a profession which is essentially a democraatie one. As has been said, this was a long time ago; but there may be persons still living to whom the reeollection of it comes as the remembrance of some hideous nightmare. It is said that that is all altered—sueh, at least, is the report that has eome to these northern latitudes,—that in plaee of repulsion and misappreeiation, you are likely to find a frank demeanour and a genial presence. Is not this worth shekels of gold and shekels of silver?

Here this too spasmodie eommentary of ours must close; and to the ingenuous youths whom we have attempted to address, and who may have aecompanied us thus far, it only remains to wish a hearty Godspeed. They are now about to leave port, with a favouring breeze, under a serene sky; when their life’s-voyage is over and they return, after the storms and eneounters that must, sooner or later, overtake every son of Adam, with battered bulwarks and rent sails, may the Flag be still proudly flying, never struck to fear, never soiled by hypocrisy, meanness, or evasion. These remarks are offered to them by one who has known some of the trials and felt some of the responsibilities that are before them; who, in the transactions of a petty life, has learnt to know that when God gives a man an office, He bestows on him some powers with which to fill it; who has learnt to know how infinitely small, how quite immaterial is the Individual as compared with the bright Ideal that may be set

before the tenant of the meanest office. It would have been very easy for him to run in the popular groove, and to prophesy smooth things; but he has preferred truth, however unpleasant, to unreality. Whatever may have been the tone of what he has said, he is satisfied that he has not set down aught in malice. If he has spoken strongly, it is because he feels strongly. He thinks that, within a quite recent time, the practice of medicine has entered on a new and brighter phase, of which this document is a public evidence and proclamation. Our profession is, in very deed and truth, not in mere words, a glorious one. It affords a field and an opportunity for the display of the brightest graces and the most precious endowments,—love, hope, charity, the highest and best benevolence. To exercise it rightly we must banish envy, malice, jealousy, timidity, self-seeking,—the invisible but not less real devils that haunt our path and obstruct our usefulness. The culmination of honour predicted by the aspirations of all the wise and good who have adorned the profession must be reached, sooner or later. The signs of the times declare its nearer approach. It is for those who are in the vaward of their youth to determine what is to be their part in hastening or retarding the accomplishment of it.